

**Life, Religion, and Marriage in a
Mi nyag Tibetan Village**

Bkra shis bzang po བཀྲ་ཤིས་བཟང་པོ།



ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
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May All Good Things Gather Here
Life, Religion, and Marriage in a Mi nyag
Tibetan Village

by

Bkra shis bzang po

བཀྲ་ཤིས་བཟང་པོ།

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Cover: The Bkra shis rgyas circle dance concludes the annual New Year celebrations in Bang smad Village (Bkra shis bzang po, January 2010).

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The images in this book include sacred images of *gtor ma*, *bla ma*, and mountain deities and should be treated respectfully.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Bkra shis bzang po is Tibetan and was born in 1988 in a farming community in Bang smad (Bomei) Village, Bang smad Township, Nyag rong (Xinlong) County, Dkar mdzes (Ganzi) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Si khron (Sichuan) Province, China. He began learning Tibetan, Chinese, and arithmetic at Bang smad Primary School in 1995. After completing primary school in 2000, he stopped attending school and stayed at home to do housework and care for his three younger sisters. In 2002, he enrolled in Nyag rong County Junior Middle School in Nyag rong County Town. This school has three years of junior middle school classes and primary school grades four, five, and six. He enrolled in primary school grade five and in 2007, completed all junior middle school classes. He then attended the English Training Program for Tibetan students at Qinghai Normal University beginning in September 2007 where he studied English, Tibetan, Chinese, and arithmetic.

In 2009, he began researching and collecting examples of local Mi nyag culture in his home area, supported by funds from the World Oral Literature Project and private donors. Examples of the materials collected by Bkra shis bzang po discussed in this book may be found online at:

www.oralliterature.org/collections/bkrashis001.htm

and

www.archive.org/details/Minyagtibetanculturalmaterialsfrombangsmadtownshipnyagrongcounty.

CONSULTANTS

A chos ཇམ་ཚལ། (b. 1968) is the best female dancer in Bang smad Village and is always a dance leader. Her father was considered a very good dancer in Bang smad Village. Both her parents taught her how to dance.

A lca ཇལ་ལ། (b. 1949-2011) was born in a ri na Village family that has had several reincarnated *bla ma*. He was a renowned orator and frequently invited by other villages on occasions when speeches were required. He knew many dance songs and provided a wedding speech and dance songs.

A rga ཇལ་ག། (b. 1951) was born in a traditional leader's family. She had ten children. Her first language is Nyag skad – she finds it difficult to communicate in Mi nyag.

Bstan 'dzin བསྟན་འཛིན། (b. 1953) is illiterate and the father of five daughters and one son. He organized weddings for five of his children and has rich experience with weddings. He was the only person in Bang smad Village who could give a complete traditional wedding speech in 2010.

Dpal bzang དཔལ་བཟང་། (b. 1938) served as village leader for about three years.

O rgyan dbang phyug ཨ་རྒྱན་དབང་ཕྱུག་། (b. 1957) has some competency in reading Tibetan. He injured his leg while collecting wood on a mountain in 2009. He is gifted at making jokes and dancing and is always the dance leader during celebrations. He has two wives, one in the village pasture and one in the agricultural village.

Rdo rje rgyal mtshan རྡོ་རྗེ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། (b. 1945) is a *bla ma* at Mtsho kha Monastery. He began studying Tibetan in 1953 with his uncle and, after several years, studied medicine with

Tibetan monastic doctors. He provided information on religion, folk beliefs, and village history.

Tshe dbang རྩེ་དབང། (b. 1940) served as the village leader in Bang smad Village for three years and worked as an accountant in the local township office for five years. He reads and writes Tibetan.

Tshe 'dzin sgrol ma རྩེ་འཛིན་སྒྲོལ་མ། (b. 1964) attended primary school in ri na Village and attended junior middle school. She has some competency in reading Chinese. She learned many folktales from her mother.

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NOTE ON NON-ENGLISH WORDS

This text includes items from Mi nyag (a little-described Sino-Tibetan language), Tibetan, Chinese, and English. Mi nyag lexical items are transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Tibetan is transliterated according to the Wylie system, and Tibetan script is given for songs and speeches. Chinese is written in *pinyin*. A non-English word list appears at the back of the book. Village and other place names written in Mi nyag appear without capitalization, e.g. ri na Village.

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tɕʰe mŋɔ tɕʰu poŋ, tɕʰu mŋɔ tɕʰe poŋ 'Exchanging a wife' <185>
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PART ONE

INTRODUCTION TO BANG SMAD VILLAGE

LOCATION

Bang smad Village is located on the eastern bank of the Nyag chu (Yalong) River in Bang smad Township, approximately thirty-five kilometers southwest of Nyag rong County Town,¹ Dkar mdze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Si khron Province, China. Nyag rong County is one of the eighteen counties of Dkar mdzes Prefecture, which are listed below:

Figure One: Dkar mdzes Autonomous Prefecture's Counties

Tibetan	Chinese
'Ba' thang	Batang
'Dab pa	Daocheng
Brag 'go	Luhuo
Brgyad zur	Jiulong
Dar rtse mdo	Kangding
Dkar mdzes	Ganzi
Dpal yul	Baiyu
Gser rta	Seda
Lcags zam kha	Luding
Li thang	Litang
Nyag chu kha	Yajiang
Nyag rong	Xinlong
Phyag phreng	Xiangcheng
Rong brag	Danba
Rta'u	Daofu
Sde dge	Dege
Sde rong	Derong
Ser shul	Shiqu

¹ Officially called Rulong Town (*zhen*) but locally called Nyag rong. Nyag rong County Town is administratively in the county's Hedong District.

Bang smad Township

Nyang rong County is divided into Hedong, Hexi, Shangzhan, and Xiazhan districts. Bang smad is located in southern part Hedong, near Hexi's eastern border. The Nyag chu River flows north to south through the county.

Bang smad Township was divided into twelve administrative villages from 1975 to 1987. As Figure Two shows, the government-designated names of these villages differs from the Mi nyag names.

Figure Two: Bang smad Township's twelve administrative villages.

Mi nyag	Tibetan	Chinese	<i>pinyin</i>
boŋ mi	Bang smad	博美	Bomei
goŋ kɜ	Gang khung	供科	Gongke
k ^h a loŋ	Kha lung	卡鲁	Kalu
la yə	Klag pa	拉巴	Laba
la k ^h u	La kha	拉卡	Laka
mɛ ba	Smad pa	麦巴	Maiba
pɜ lə	Bang blo	波洛	Boluo
ri na	Ri sne	仁勒	Renle
rŋa koŋ	Rnga rkang	阿古	Agu
koŋ ɬi	Stong ra	杜拉	Dula
tɛ ba	Stod pa	德巴	Deba
va rə	Rba ru	瓦日	Wari

Most of these villages are connected by the Yaxin Road² that parallels the Nyag chu River. About one hour is needed to ride a motorcycle from Bang smad's northernmost village of la x^he to the southernmost village of tɜ rɜ.

² The name is an abbreviation of Yajiang (to) Xinlong. This road runs from Dkar mdzes County to the north, southeast through Nyag rong County to Nyag chu kha County.

Mi nyag-Speaking Villages and Khams Tibetan

Residents of the four northernmost villages of Bang smad Township – va rə, la k^hu, la x^he, də t^haw, ɕa di, la ʏə, ɛə wa, and wa t^hu – speak Khams Tibetan, locally referred to as Nyag skad, while the other eleven villages speak Mi nyag. West of the river is Ma red Township whose residents speak Nyag skad.

Mi nyag-speaking communities are also found immediately south of Bang smad Township on the eastern bank of the Nyag chu River. Yangs la gshis (fifty-one kilometers south of Bang smad Township) and Man chen townships (twenty-nine kilometers north of Bang smad Township) have villages where the most commonly used language is Mi nyag. According to the *Xinlong County Gazetteer* (1992, 370):

Villages located in Shangzhan preserve the Mi nyag names of places, mountains, and villages, but there is already no one who can speak Mi nyag. Only a few elderly people speak Mi nyag in Guri, Jialaxi, and Maxi villages in Heping Township.

Most villages in Bang smad Township are located at the feet of mountains on the valley floor at the confluence of the Nyag chu River and its tributaries. Sometimes two villages may lie on opposite sides of a tributary valley,³ while certain valleys have only a single village. Three villages (the Mi nyag-speaking k^ha loŋ and the Nyag skad speaking va rə and la k^hu) are unique in being located atop mountains rather than in the valleys of the Nyag chu River and its tributaries.

The first Mi nyag-speaking village of northern Bang

³ For example, rŋa koŋ and boŋ t^ha lie on opposite sides of rŋa koŋ Valley.

smad is *te ba*, located on an alluvial fan on the east bank of the Nyag chu River. The village is south of the second tributary south of the southernmost Khams-speaking village of *la yə*. The administrative village of *ɣdzɜ wɔŋ* is divided into three hamlets: *te ba*, meaning upper; *mɛ ba*, meaning lower (both midway up the mountain); and *lə bə*, which is situated at the foot of the mountain, near the Nyag chu River. There are twenty-six households in *te ba*, thirty-six households in *mɛ ba*, and four households in *lə bə*. Residents of *ɣdzɜ wɔŋ* speak Mi nyag with many Nyag skad loanwords, however, residents born before 1960 speak Mi nyag with many fewer Nyag skad loanwords. Some households are monolingual in Nyag skad. Villagers from *te ba* worship at the Rnying ma Rnga rnga Monastery, located between *wa tʰu* and *te ba*. Villagers from *mɛ ba* and *lə bə* worship at the Klu 'bum Bon Monastery.⁴ A single Nyag skad-speaking household northeast of *ɣdzɜ wɔŋ* Village is located atop a mountain and is referred to by the family name *sʰə la*.

Half an hour's walk south of *ɣdzɜ wɔŋ* is *boŋ tʰa*, which is both an administrative village and a hamlet located north of *rŋa koŋ* Valley. *boŋ tʰa* has approximately ten households living along the middle and lower slopes of the mountain that rises above an unnamed tributary of the Nyag chu River. The Mi nyag spoken in *boŋ tʰa* uses fewer Nyag skad loanwords than villages to the south. *boŋ tʰa* is also home to the Rnying ma Rnga rkang Monastery.

On the south side of *rŋa koŋ* Valley is *rŋa koŋ* Hamlet and administrative village. Houses are clustered close together at an altitude slightly lower than that of *boŋ tʰa*. The Mi nyag spoken in *rŋa koŋ* is identical to that spoken in *boŋ tʰa*; the households of the two villages at lowest elevation are separated only by the stream at the valley bottom, which is upstream from *boŋ tʰa* and *rŋa koŋ*, a

⁴ The monastery is named Klu 'bum after the hamlet.

nunnery in rŋa koŋ Village.

k^ha loŋ is an administrative village composed of k^ha loŋ, ʕə nda, and ʕaw dʒaw hamlets. k^ha loŋ Hamlet, with thirteen households, is approximately an hour's walk uphill from rŋa koŋ Village. ʕə nda is located mid-slope on the north side of ʕə nda Valley, which is south of k^ha loŋ Hamlet. ʕə nda has only two households.

The single household of ʕaw dʒaw is atop a mountain south of k^ha loŋ, about an hour's walk from k^ha loŋ.

Bang smad Valley is south of ʕaw dʒaw. Bang smad Village lies west of a mountain at the confluence of an unnamed stream that flows along Bang smad Valley and the Nyag chu River. The village's northernmost hamlet, k^hɜ rɜ, has seven households. ba ɕu ma Hamlet is in the center of village territory with five households. The southern hamlet of ɣə rə has twenty-two households. South of ɣə rə are a stream and kə toŋ Valley. South of this stream is kə toŋ Hamlet, with two households.

A tributary valley that is a fifteen minute walk south of kə toŋ is called ri ʕi Valley. About a two hour walk east from the Yaxin County road inside the valley is k^ha ndu, an agro-pastoral hamlet with five households. Two families from k^hɜ rɜ Hamlet have homes in k^ha ndu for members who tend livestock. k^ha ndu is part of goŋ kɜ Administrative Village, whose sixteen houses are situated along the mountain located on the east bank of the Nyag chu River.

ri na Village, consisting of two hamlets, is located on the south side of ri na Valley, the next valley downriver. ri na has twenty-five households, and is the site of the Rnying ma Ra rgyal Monastery. Residents of goŋ kɜ, Bang smad, k^ha ndu, ɕoŋ ʕi, pɜ lə, and Mi nyag villages farther south worship at this monastery.

pɜ lə Village, with two hamlets and twenty-seven households, is located half an hour's walk south of ri na Village. Three kilometers farther south is ɕoŋ ʕi Village with sixteen households located in ɕoŋ ʕi Valley.

v3 gɛ Village is located on the mid-slope of the mountains east of the Nyag chu River. This new village has thirteen houses built by the government in 2005 for the poorest families in Bang smad Township. Residents are originally from different villages, and thus Nyag skad and Mi nyag are both spoken.

t3 r3 Village east of the Nyag chu River has three households of Mi nyag speakers, who all worship at Ra rgyal Monastery.

BANG SMAD VILLAGE HISTORY AND LEADERSHIP

Elders say the first residents of Bang smad Village were 'Jang, an ancient ethnic group that governed all of Nyag rong and were conquered by King Ge sar.⁵ Others say that the 'Jang were exterminated by Ge sar.

Earthen walls built by the 'Jang still stand in Bang smad and earth towers stand in mountains near Bang smad and nearby villages. Locals say the 'Jang built these towers to send messages from their capital to distant places using smoke from fires lit on the towers. When the 'Jang leader wanted to call a meeting, a fire was set atop a tower in the capital, which was seen by men in distant towers, who then lit fires in their towers. Thus the message was sent from tower to tower, and all then knew they needed to gather in the capital for a meeting.

Some elders say that the current village residents first lived on a mountainside called pə tsə lu, about four kilometers southeast of Bang smad Village where there were

⁵ Ge sar is said to have been born in the eleventh century and to have ruled the ancient Tibetan kingdom of Gling. A phyug, an area in northern Sde dge County is said to be Ge sar's birthplace. Gling is an abbreviation of 'Dzam-gling, the name for our world.

a few households in the past. Some families were led by *bla ma*, who made all important decisions. Presently, some ruined earth walls can be seen there, though they are almost entirely covered by trees and weeds.

After King Ge sar conquered the 'Jang, pə tsə lu villagers came to live in Bang smad and built earthen houses there because of its level ground, and began opening land for cultivation.

In the mid-nineteenth century, villagers fought the army of Mgon po rnam rgyal, locally referred to as Bu long ma 'the blind one', a powerful man who conquered much of Khams but, in the end, was subdued by Bod sde pa gzhung 'the Tibetan government'. Mgon po rnam rgyal's soldiers came to Bang smad Village. Locals fought them, lost, and fled to the mountains and forests because Mgon po rnam rgyal's soldiers burnt all the houses. Villagers rebuilt their houses after Mgon po rnam rgyal's defeat.

At the time the village was rebuilt, there were nine families in Bang smad – the Chos skyong dud mgo dgu 'Nine Protector Deity Households'. Elders say those nine families were brave, energetic, and skilled warriors, which explains the name. These nine households were:

- a t^hoŋ woŋ
- ts^he r3 nboŋ woŋ
- sʌ boŋ woŋ
- ra je woŋ
- tʂe pəŋ woŋ
- qaw luw woŋ
- dzoŋ pəŋ woŋ
- tɕ^hə k^huw tuw woŋ
- tɕ^hə k^huw yaw woŋ

Four of those families – ts^he r3 nboŋ woŋ, sʌ boŋ woŋ, tɕ^hə k^huw tuw woŋ, and tɕ^hə k^huw yaw woŋ – have now vanished and villagers cannot explain why. Certain elders say they had

such diseases as leprosy, other say they did not have children, and others say they migrated to other areas. Rdo rje brgyal mtshan (b. 1944) gave the following account:

A son of the ts^{he} r3 nboŋ woŋ had leprosy. He lived in a small wood house on a mountain two kilometers from our village. My parents stopped me from going near that place when I was about eight or nine.⁶

When I was young, we could see some ruined buildings of the sa boŋ woŋ. My uncle and some elders said they did not have children.

No elders know what happened to the tɕ^{hə} k^{huw} tuw woŋ and tɕ^{hə} k^{huw} yaw woŋ. Elders only remember the names of these family.

At some point after the disappearance of those four families, four new families (the Tsha bzhi 'Four Cousins') arrived in the village, restoring the original number of families. The Tsha bzhi moved in and lived on locals' land. New couples might have settled neolocally, patrilocally, or matrilocally, or might have also moved in with a wealthy family and worked for them as laborers. Certain locals leased fields to outsiders who annually paid them grain as rent. Some families leased land to others and their income increased as they rented increasing amounts of land. They eventually no longer needed to work in their fields, and employed other villagers as servants in their homes.

Twenty households in Bang smad now own much property and land and are consequently more powerful than other families. Such families historically gained power gradually and came to control other villagers; they became leaders whom the other villagers listened to, respected, and obeyed. These leaders made rules and those who broke them

⁶ The ruins of ts^{he} r3 nboŋ woŋ's home were still visible in 2010.

were punished. The two most powerful households were the t̥aw wɔŋ and a tʰoŋ families, who governed the other villagers. The t̥aw wɔŋ Family was very kind and villagers loved them.

The a tʰoŋ Family contained a very powerful man, A Sha, who wanted to dominate all the villagers and treated them badly. He controlled many Nyag rong areas, and gradually grew more powerful. At that time, the Tibetan government appointed four *stong dpon* 'leaders of a thousand households' and thirteen *mda' dpon* 'leaders of several villages' to lead Nyag rong. Government officials came to Bang smad Village to choose a leader and asked the two families to throw *pa ra* 'dice' to choose a leader. The a tʰoŋ Family lost, but, being more powerful, ordered the t̥aw wɔŋ Family to throw the dice again. They failed a second time and the t̥aw wɔŋ Family thus became the village leaders and came to dominate twenty-three villages. The names of these villages, all within today's Bang smad Township, are listed in Figure Three:

Figure Three: Names of villages in Mi nyag and Tibetan controlled by the a t^hoŋ and tɕaw woŋ families.

Tibetan	Mi nyag
Bang blo	pɜ lu
Bang smad	boŋ mi
Bang stod	boŋ t ^h a
Dbu ba	ɕə wa
Du rtag	də t ^h aw
Gang khung	goŋ kɜ
Kag cag	ɕaw dɕaw
Kha lung	k ^h a loŋ
Klag pa	la ɣə
Klu 'bum	lɕə bə
Ku tang	kə toŋ
Kun da	ɕə nda
La kha	la k ^h u
La she	la x ^h e
Mkha' 'dod	k ^h a ndu
Phya rdeng	ɕa di
Rba ru	va rə
Ri sne	ri na
Rnga rkang	rŋa koŋ
Sbrang bo Smad pa	ɣdɕɜ woŋ mɛ ba
Sbrang bo Stod pa	ɣdɕɜ woŋ tɛ ba
Stong ra	koŋ li
Wa thung	wa t ^h u

At some point the tɕaw woŋ Family had no children and asked a cousin, Lha mtsho, to join their family in order to continue the family line. They sought permission from the government, which replied that they should take Lha mtsho to be examined by leaders in Lha sa. The family made her wear high-heeled shoes when she went to Lha sa so she would appear taller and thus older than she actually was. The Tibetan government then approved her as a local leader.

Lha mtsho married a *mda' dpon* family member, 'Brug thar, who thus joined the t̥aw wŋ Family and became a very well-respected leader. His brother, however, wanted to usurp his authority, leading to conflicts between the brothers. During these conflicts all young village males were conscripted as soldiers for the t̥aw wŋ Family, which owned many firearms. Some villagers even lived with the t̥aw wŋ Family as bodyguards.

Many families were landless at that time. Some families lacked houses and lived with the t̥aw wŋ Family, helping them herd livestock and do housework. They were paid only food and lodging. All households paid annual taxes of lumber, butter, meat, and grain to the t̥aw wŋ Family.

In 1937, 'Brug thar was an impartial leader whom villagers loved and respected. He had two sons, Dgra 'dul and A bad. Some *bla ma* said Dgra 'dul was a Living Buddha; he was very kind, and eventually became a *bla ma* and leader of the twenty-three villages. He was an exceptional leader who owned much property. He had a large army, treated his soldiers and servants well, and grew increasingly powerful as time passed.

Dgra 'dul punished and fined anyone in the twenty-three villages if they fought with or stole livestock from fellow villagers. For example, a villager once stole livestock from another village and when Dgra 'dul discovered this, the thief was punished. He solved many such problems in the villages. All villagers obeyed his orders and were solidly united behind him. The village leader was responsible for solving all village problems, such as when villages had conflicts with other tribes over land ownership.

Only twenty households in Bang smad owned farmland and their own houses at the time of Liberation. After the Communist government implemented national laws, village land was divided according to family size, local leaders were punished, and a new local government was established in the t̥aw wŋ Family house. Afterwards, each

household had land to grow their own grain and no longer paid taxes to the village leaders.

Present-day villagers continue to respect the tɕaw wɔŋ Family and make an honorary visit to them during tɕe ndzɛ (New Year). In the past, the tɕaw wɔŋ Family had two large walnut trees that the government confiscated and made collective village property. Villagers returned the two walnut trees to the family in 2009.

Present-day villagers respect traditional law and seek permission from two different owners before building new houses: the original owner of the field and the owner according to current national law. New houses are not built without agreement from both parties. Whether a family owned land in the traditional social structure is also considered during the marriage process; land-owning and landless villagers seldom intermarried historically and this continues today.

Decision-makers from each household meet to choose *s^{h3} pu* 'village leaders' by dividing into about ten groups of four households each. The selection is made by writing names on pieces of paper. The current village leader then chooses four pieces of paper. Those whose names are written on these papers become one group. Each group serves as village leaders for a year in turn. One male member from each household of the group acts as leader, organizing yearly rituals such as Spyi gto and Smyung gnas (see below), coordinating the start of the farming season, and protecting crops from wandering livestock; *s^{h3} pu* also fine the owners of such livestock and use this money to pay for annual rituals. The *s^{h3} pu* also manage tɕe ndzɛ as explained later.

The three village leaders chosen by the government are referred to as *las byed*. Township officials meet to choose them by asking one representative from each household to vote in the township center. The *las byed* also assist villagers to organize rituals and the agricultural cycle, and receive an annual government salary of about 2,000 RMB.

VILLAGE NAME

Two accounts explain the origin of the name Bang smad. Locals say a monastery was once destroyed in a flood, and a wood house was also washed away. After the flood receded, the lower part of the wood house came to rest in Bang smad. In Tibetan, 'wood house' is '*bang khang*', and the lower part of a wood house is '*bang smad*'. The village has been called Bang smad since that flood. The upper part of the wood house came to rest in a neighboring place, so that place was called Bang stod (boŋ tʰa) 'Upper Wooden House'. rŋa koŋ Village is nearby. After the flood, the feet of a *rnga khang* 'drum stand' came to rest there, hence the name rŋa koŋ.

The other explanation relates to Bang smad's location on the lower border of a grassland. In local Tibetan, grassland is '*spang*' and 'lower' is '*smad*', thus this place was called Spang smad. Over time, Spang smad came to be pronounced Bang smad.

ENVIRONMENT

Bang smad Village is located between two forested mountains on the Nyag chu River. Trees were harvested for fuel and lumber before 2001. Several trees were often cut at one time. Logs were kept for personal use and others were transported and sold in the provincial capital, Chengdu, and in other cities. However, in 2001 the government prohibited cutting trees for fuel and lumber.

Leopards, tigers, wild boars, monkeys, hedgehogs, and musk deer live in the forests.

POPULATION

There were thirty-six households and 171 people in Bang smad in 2009, including sixty-five men, seventy-six women, and thirty children. All were officially classified as Tibetan. The oldest man was born in 1924 and the oldest woman was born in 1936. The largest family had eleven members, and the smallest family had one. The average family had about four members.

Families in the past often had ten children, but nowadays policy stipulates a maximum of three children per family. Families that have only one child are monetarily rewarded by the local government.

LANGUAGE

Only about ten percent of the Mi nyag words from Kangding County listed at: http://www.khamaid.org/programs/culture/minyaklanguage/minyak_language.pdf (Thub bstan dge legs et al., 2008) appear to be similar to those in Bang smad, as shown in figures Four and Five:

Figure Four: Kangding County Mi nyag and Bang smad Village Mi nyag lexical similarities.

English	Kangding County	Bang smad Village
bad	ག་ཆ gwa cha	<i>ga tɕʰɔ</i>
fire	མྱེ m+'i	<i>moŋ</i>
smoke	མུག་ཁུར mug khur	<i>moŋ kʰɜ</i>
valley	འབངས་ཀྱང 'ba' kung	<i>?oŋ</i>

The short list below shows words that appear to be quite different:

Figure Five: Kangding County Mi nyag and Bang smad Village Mi nyag lexical differences.

English	Kangding County	Bang smad Village
afraid	ཐག་ཀག་ thag kag	<i>s^ha rə</i>
bowl	ཇི་ཐོང་ i thong	<i>qɜ</i>
four	རུ་ལོ་ ru lo	<i>ʈa</i>
head	འ་ལོ་ 'a lo	<i>ɛə bon</i>
hear	ཁུ་སེ་ང་ khu se nga	<i>mə</i>
house	ཅེ་ ce	<i>ɣon</i>
ice	འཛིན་ཀྱ་ 'je ku	<i>von</i>
laugh	རིང་དུ་རམ་ ring du ram	<i>qa</i>
pig	ཞིག་ zhig	<i>va</i>
road	རབ་ rab	<i>tɕi</i>
sickle	སོ་ལེ་ so le	<i>ʃə</i>

Bang smad villagers generally think their language is only spoken in rural villages and is useful when discussing things they do not want others to understand. Certain elders are aware that Mi nyag is spoken in other areas and comment that it is difficult for them to understand.

People from such other townships as Ma red, Jialaxi, and Heping refer to Mi nyag spoken in Bang smad Township as *ɣdzɜ wɔŋ ki*. *ɣdzɜ wɔŋ* is an old name for Bang smad Township the origins of which elders could not explain. Bang smad Township Mi nyag speakers refer to their language as *mə nə*. Many local Tibetans who do not speak Mi nyag refer to Mi nyag as '*dre skad* 'ghost language'.

All Bang Smad villagers speak *mə nə* with the exception of men and women who married and have moved to *la k^hu* (La kha), *la x^he* (La she), and *la ɣə* (Klag pa) villages and who speak the Nyag skad variety of Kham Tibetan. *mə nə* is spoken in three townships in Nyag rong

County: Man chen Township,⁷ with four mə nə-speaking villages (Ri mgo, Ri 'dabs, Yi lung, and Shes rig); Yangs la gshis Township with Ha me Village (six households, thirty-six people); and Bang smad Township, with seventeen villages where mə nə is spoken.⁸

Of the thirty-six households of Bang smad Village, the wives in fifteen are originally from other villages, including five from four different mə nə speaking-villages. The other ten speak Nyag skad as their first language and, though they understand most of what is said in Mi nyag, they speak it poorly, as do their children. Villagers comment that such children have an accent when speaking Mi nyag.

Some villagers speak the Sichuan Chinese dialect because they have done construction work or worked in hotels and restaurants as cleaners in the county town. Some monks can speak Modern Standard Chinese because they travel to such places as Shanghai, Beijing, and Heilongjiang to teach Buddhism to Han Chinese.

Elders said that many years ago everyone in Nyag rong spoke Mi nyag. Rdo rje rgyal mtshan said:

All Nor khang (Lougu) villagers spoke Mi nyag and then their tribe leader married a woman who was from a Khams-speaking village. Everybody in her husband's village spoke Mi nyag, which she couldn't understand. She became very homesick. The tribe's leader then ordered all

⁷ Man chen was combined with Rgyal rabs shing Township in 1992.

⁸ ṽdzɜ woŋ tɛ ba (Sbrang bo Stod pa), ṽdzɜ woŋ mɛ ba (Sbrang bo Smad pa), ɬə bə (Klu 'bum), rŋa koŋ (rnga rkang), boŋ tʰa (Bang stod), kʰa loŋ (kha lung), ʕə nda (Kun da), ʕaw dzaw (Kag cag), boŋ mi (Bang smad), kə toŋ (Ku tang), goŋ kɜ (gang khung), kʰa ndu (Mkha' 'dod), ri na (Ri sne), pɜ lə (Bang blo), vɜ ɡɛ (Bu ge), ɤoŋ ɬi (Stong ra), and tɜ rɜv (Ti ri).

villagers to speak Khams and that's why all Nor khang villagers today speak Nyag skad. But there are many words in their dialect that are similar to Mi nyag, especially place names.

Intelligibility

Mi nyag pronunciation varies slightly between villages in Bang smad to the extent that a Mi nyag speaker can identify a speaker's village of origin based on their speech. Residents of the same valley tend to have similar pronunciation though they may be from different villages. For example, villagers from rja koŋ and boŋ t^ha speak almost identical versions of Mi nyag, whereas their pronunciation differs recognizably from Bang smad villagers.

Bang smad villagers have significant difficulty speaking Mi nyag with people from the other two Mi nyag-speaking townships (Yangs la gshis to the south and Man chen to the north).

Figure Six: Man chen, Bang smad, and Youlaxi Mi nyag Dialects compared.

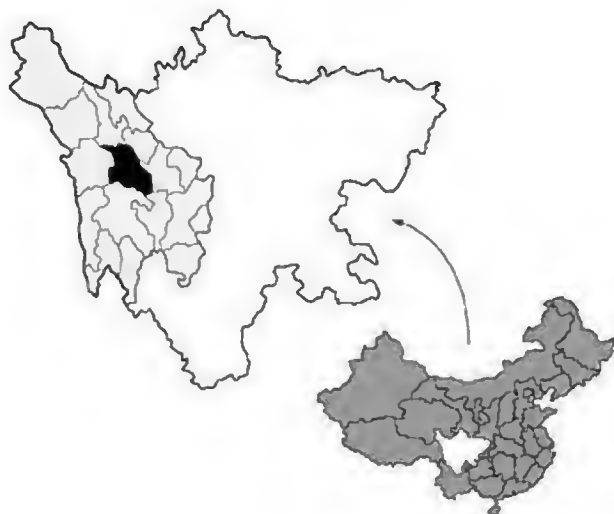
English	Man chen	Bang smad	Yangs la gshis
cloud	<i>tʃe</i>	<i>doŋ mu</i>	<i>tʃɜ</i>
feather	<i>pə</i>	<i>pə</i>	<i>mi rɔ</i>
few	<i>dzə mə</i>	<i>sɔ sɔ</i>	<i>sɔ sɔ</i>
to fly	<i>ʃoŋ la</i>	<i>ʃoŋ loŋ</i>	<i>de</i>
foot	<i>mɔ</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>mɔ</i>
grass	<i>ntɕ^{hi}</i>	<i>ntɕ^{hi}</i>	<i>x^{hi}</i>
heart	<i>li</i>	<i>zu</i>	<i>s^{he}</i>
I	<i>ŋa</i>	<i>ŋa</i>	<i>ŋa</i>
to kill	<i>s^{hi}</i>	<i>s^{hi}</i>	<i>s^{hə}</i>
to laugh	<i>qe</i>	<i>qa</i>	<i>qa qa</i>
left (side)	<i>jə ku</i>	<i>jə ku</i>	<i>la ja</i>
road	<i>tɕe</i>	<i>tɕi</i>	<i>tɕə</i>
round	<i>ɛɔ rə rə</i>	<i>ɛɔ ɛɔ rə</i>	<i>ɛɔ rə rə</i>
to say	<i>x^{he}</i>	<i>x^{hi}</i>	<i>x^{hæ}</i>
to squeeze	<i>le</i>	<i>cə tʃuw</i>	<i>jə zu</i>
there	<i>tɕ^{hə} du</i>	<i>tɕ^{hə} me</i>	<i>a ʒi</i>
thick	<i>bə</i>	<i>bə</i>	<i>x^{hi} x^{hi}</i>
warm (as in weather)	<i>tse</i>	<i>tsi</i>	<i>lu lu</i>
water	<i>zɔ</i>	<i>zɔ</i>	<i>zɜ</i>
wife	<i>na tɕ^{huw}</i>	<i>ja s^{he}</i>	<i>mi</i>
worm	<i>bə dʒa</i>	<i>bə dʒu</i>	<i>bə dʒu</i>

Culture

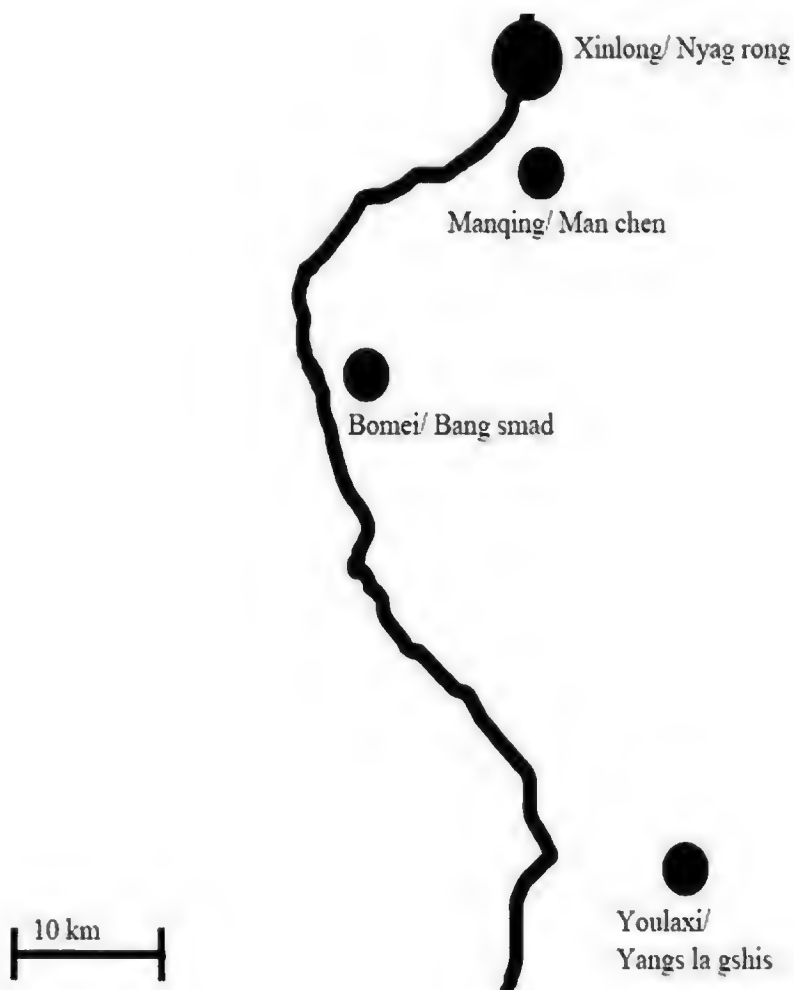
Kinship and marriage ties exist between Khams-speaking villages in the north of Bang smad Township and villages as far south as Heping Township. Mi nyag families also have kinship ties with Khams-speaking villagers living in Ma red Township on the west bank of the Nyag chu River. In Bang smad Township, Mi nyag-speakers speak Khams, though a few elders cannot speak it well. Those who speak Khams

dialect as their first language cannot speak Mi nyag. In the case of mixed marriages, children raised in Mi nyag villages speak Mi nyag. Children raised with a Mi nyag-speaking parent in Khams-speaking villages generally only understand a few words of Mi nyag. The southernmost villages of Bang smad Township have traditionally not had marriage ties with those in the north, but instead intermarried with Khams communities across the Nyag chu River in Ma red Township. There are no significant cultural differences between Khams-speakers and Mi nyag-speakers; only their language is different. Mi nyag-speakers consider themselves to be Tibetans who speak a distinct language.

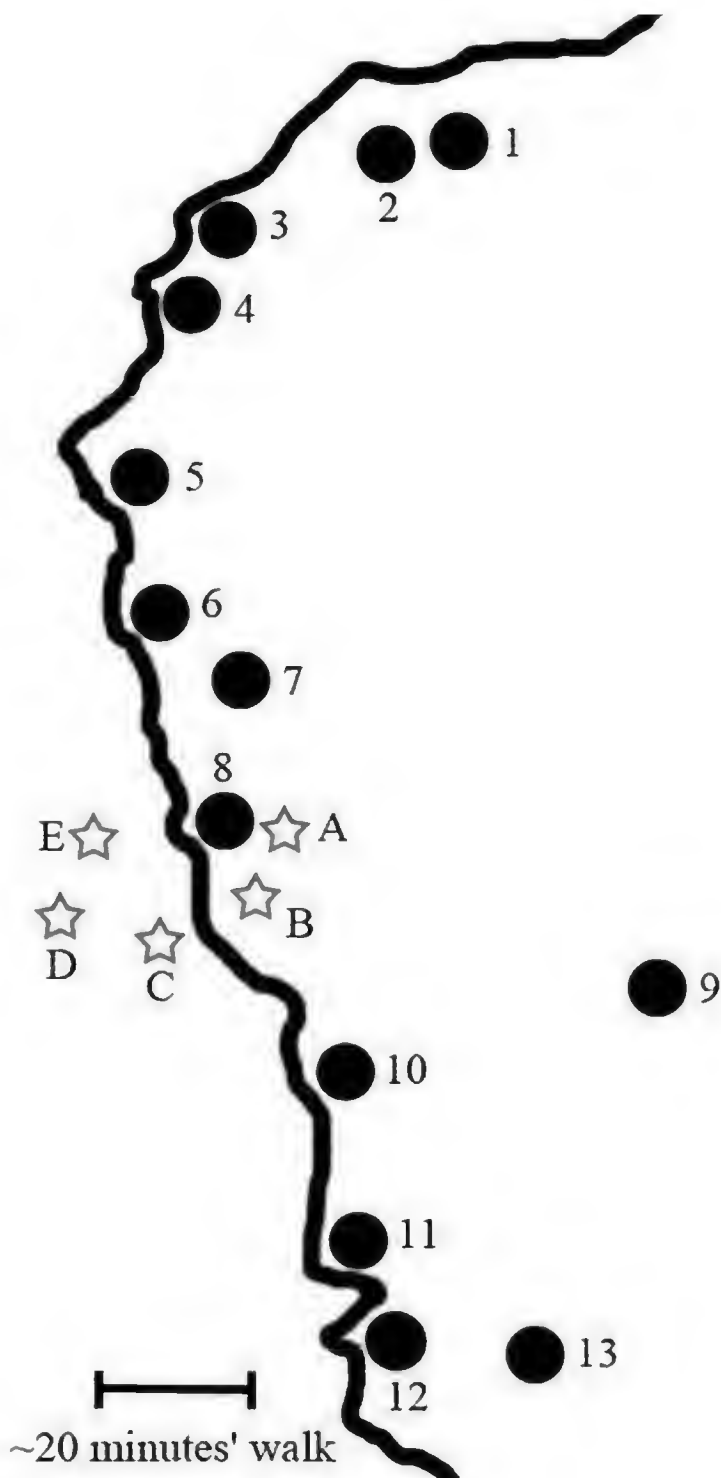
Map 1. The location of Nyag rong County in China. Sichuan is shown in white in the gray map of China (bottom right). Dkar mdzes Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture is gray in the map of Sichuan (top left), and Nyag rong County is black.⁹



⁹ This map is based on a map created by Wiki Commons user Croquant: <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/User:Croquant> and used under a Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 Unported license.



Map 2. Mi nyag-speaking communities along the Nyag chu River in Nyag rong County.



Map 3. Administrative villages along the Nyag chu River in Bang smad Township (1-13) and the holy mountains of Bang smad Village (A-E).

1: Rba ru 2: La kha 3: Phya rdeng 4: Klag pa 5: Stod smad pa 6: Bang stod 7: Kha lung 8: Bang smad 9: Mkha' 'dod 10: Gang khung 11: ri na 12: Bang blo 13: Stong ra

A: G.yung drung spun dgu B: Sman btsun le'u sman C: Bya zas lha mo mched bdun D: G.yar ri seng ge E: Dge bsnyen po blo

HOUSING

There are two styles of house in Bang smad Village: *rtsing khang* 'stone houses' and *gyang khang* 'rammed earth houses'. Houses usually have three floors. The first floor is for livestock, while people live on the second floor, which ordinarily contains a bedroom, a kitchen, and *zo*.¹⁰ The third floor is a storeroom for livestock fodder. A wooden room on the third floor is the family shrine where Buddha images and *thang ga*¹¹ are housed. Monks stay here when they visit;

¹⁰ A small room where grain, butter, cheese, and *g.yang mda'* (see below) are stored. Only family members may enter a household's *zo*.

¹¹ *Thang ka/ga* refers to a form of primarily Tibetan sacred representation consisting of an image panel that is painted, embroidered, or appliquéd, which is often placed in a textile frame. The image panel frequently depicts such imagery as mandalas, deities, famous scenes, or prominent local religious personalities. They are hung up high in monastic halls, village temples, and family homes as objects of veneration. A piece of silk often hangs over the image to

some families also store grain in this room.

Recently, certain families have built and live in a small, one-room house alongside their large house. The big house is used if they have many guests on such occasions as *te ndze*,¹² religious festivals, and weddings.

A *rtsis pa* 'astrologer' is asked to choose a suitable site for a new house based on orientation to mountains, water, trees, roads, and so on. After a location is chosen, the *Sa bdag* 'khrugs bcos Ritual (see below) is held to appease deities that reside at, or are masters of the house site. A deity that is not appeased may plague people and livestock, inflicting disease and causing disaster.

Villagers consider it auspicious if the mountains located to the east of a house are not too high. It is also favorable if there are small mountains to the south of the house, and high mountains to the west and north of the house.

A perpendicular path above the house is believed to be a conduit for the family's prosperity. A large parallel road above the house is unfavorable, but if the house is located an arrow's shot or farther from the road, it is acceptable.

A path south of the house is favorable, for it is seen as the path of a family's *g.yang* 'prosperity deity' (see below). A path west of the house is believed to be the way of the *Gshin ma* 'the Person Killer' and is inauspicious. A path north of the house is considered the path of enemies and is also inauspicious.

The *phyi yi srung ma bzhi* 'four outer protectors' and *nang gi srung ma bzhi* 'four inner protectors' are associated with a house. The *phyi yi srung ma bzhi* are four symbols

prevent defilement by secular life, and protects the image from light and dust. In the context of village ritual, setting up images creates interior and exterior worlds mediated through the representation of the images.

¹² New Year.

that serve as protectors in the four directions outside the house. *Shar stag skya bo* 'eastern grey tiger' is usually a patch of white earth or white stones east of the house. *Lho g.yu 'brug sngon po* 'southern blue turquoise dragon' is a river or dragon-shaped mountain south of the house. *Nub bya dmar po* 'western red bird' is a red rocky mountain or bird-shaped stone west of the house. *Byang rus sbal rgyal po* 'northern king turtle' is a stone or a mountain resembling a turtle in the north. A place surrounded by all the *phyi yi srung ma bzhi* is ideal for a new building.

Nang gi srung ma bzhi are the protectors in the four directions inside the house compound. A gate in the east of a compound, water buckets in the south, a stove in the west, and a hand mill¹³ in the north are also protectors.

A solitary tree upslope from a house means the family's wealth cannot increase because the tree will 'weigh down' the family and prevent its wealth from 'rising'. Conversely, a tree downslope from the house 'holds up' the family and prevents it from becoming impoverished.

Trees, water, and rocks in front of a house are fortuitous. Water, e.g., streams, lakes, a water tap, and so on to the left or right of a house, is auspicious. It is a bad omen if water emerges from a building's foundations.

FOOD AND DRINK

Bang smad villagers typically have four meals a day: breakfast, lunch, *mdza vu*,¹⁴ and dinner. Breakfast is eaten from seven to eight a.m. and consists of *rtsam pa* 'roasted barley flour' and milk tea. Some combination of *rtsam pa*,

¹³ The hand mill is comprised of two stones and used to grind grain.

¹⁴ A meal between lunch and dinner.

butter, cheese, sugar, and hot tea are mixed together, and eaten while drinking milk tea. *k^{ha} ti*¹⁵ or leftovers, might also be eaten for breakfast.

Villagers eat lunch between twelve and one p.m. Bread might be made for lunch by mixing wheat flour, soda, and cold water, kneading the dough into round shapes, and cooking the dough in hot ash for about fifteen minutes. Butter, *rtsam pa*, and salt are put in holes in the bread. Rice and fried vegetable dishes are also common for lunch.

Villagers eat *rtsam pa* and potatoes for *mdza vu* between three and four p.m. Potatoes are washed and boiled for twenty minutes. Leftovers from lunch might also be eaten.

A dinner of noodles or rice with vegetables is eaten from nine to ten p.m. Sometimes *ca kɜ*, a soup of chopped, boiled beef with *rtsam pa* and salt, is made.

Alcohol Consumption

Villagers have a profound cultural attachment to drinking alcohol. This is illustrated by the account below, given by a villager born in 1988:

When I was about six years old, local carpenters encouraged me to drink at a party. I went home. It was my duty to feed the dogs, livestock, and fetch water. I prepared to heat some food for the dogs and then fell asleep by the stove. Mother later found me and, thinking I was seriously

¹⁵ *Rtsam pa*, butter, sugar, and cheese are mixed in a bowl. After compacting these ingredients with the back of the hand, tea is poured into the bowl. The tea is drunk and the tongue used to lick up the dough at the bottom of the bowl. Tea is poured again and the process repeated until the bowl is empty.

ill, carried me on her back to see a doctor. She met a woman on the way who said she could smell liquor and that I was just drunk.

Later, when I was about nine years old, I had a party with three friends. We each brought two bottles of barley liquor, three *yuan*, and some food. We put up a small tent by a wood-pile near my home, lit a candle, told folktales, and drank. We went to sleep after we got drunk. The candle set the wood on fire and burned the neck of one of my friends. The fire became so large that the flames were almost as tall as the third floor of the house. My parents came out, took us from the tent, and put out the fire. Meanwhile, I crawled back into the tent and went to sleep.

In 2009, leaders of such monasteries as Mtsho kha, Rnga rkang, and Ra rgyal told villagers to stop drinking in an effort to end fighting and reduce the number of car and motorcycle accidents. The following are examples of problems the ban on liquor sought to address:

A Bang smad villager went by motorcycle to the county town with a Chinese carpenter in early 2009 to buy daily food for the carpenter. After they finished shopping, they went to a restaurant and drank liquor. They went too fast when returning to the village, crashed into an electricity pole, and the villager broke his leg. Subsequent medical treatment cost his family 9,000 RMB and he still walked with difficulty in 2010.

A villager (b. 1938) drank every day. Doctors whom he consulted urged him to quit drinking, but he did not. One day in 2005, he drank a great deal of liquor and the next morning was unable to move his right hand and right foot. He was then bedridden and very seriously ill for seven months. He still had to be carried wherever he went in 2010.

In compliance with the directive from monasteries and elders, villagers stopped drinking, took the liquor and barley wine from their homes to local monasteries, and burned it in the *gsur*.¹⁶ Villagers also had their copper liquor distillers smelted and made into cooking pots and basins. Bang smad Village's two shops also stopped selling liquor. However, some young male villagers bought beer and liquor in the county town several months later and went to mountains or valley locations where they were not easily seen drinking.

Since 2008, Bang smad villagers no longer provide barley liquor and beer during the New Year period, weddings, and parties. Instead, they provide fruit juice. Such villages as ri na ask *bla ma* for permission to drink during the New Year and promise to stop drinking after the New Year period. Others ask for permission to drink if it is part of a social obligation related to government employment or doing business. *Bla ma* generally give permission but insist that there should be no drinking in the villages, unless it is during the New Year period (on the part of villages who have requested such permission).

CLOTHING

Villagers wear their best clothes during the fifteen-day New Year period and on such other special occasions as weddings, summer picnics, and when going to the monastery to watch '*cham*'¹⁷ and attending other religious festivals.

¹⁶ Strips of cloth symbolizing clothing, alcohol, and other items that are burnt, which allows ancestors to receive and enjoy them.

¹⁷ '*Cham*' refers to a religious ritual at Tibetan monasteries. Monks wear masks and ornamented costumes, and dance accompanied by music played by monks using traditional

Clothes worn during New Year are unique. Villagers historically wore coral, tiger skin, leopard skin, silver earrings, gold earrings, fox fur hats, colorful aprons, and sashes during New Year. During weddings, only the bride, groom, and their entourage wear these clothes. At present, people do not generally wear jewelry.¹⁸

In 2010 New Year, villagers between the ages of ten and forty wore the decorations described above during the New Year whereas elders wore *ts^ha r3*¹⁹ 'Tibetan robes' and did not wear such ornaments.

EDUCATION

Approximately eighty-five percent of Bang smad villagers are illiterate. Few families sent their children to school before 2003, believing that only children of wealthy families could find jobs. Finding employment required giving money to government leaders and a good social network. Recently, however, more families have allowed their children to attend school because official jobs are allocated according to examinations. Many students from rural villages have found jobs and have been able to improve the poor economic condition of their families and communities. Realizing the benefits of education, most villagers now send their children to school. There were two senior middle school students, five junior middle school students, and twenty-five primary school students in Bang smad Village in 2009.

Tibetan instruments. The dances often depict the life of Padmasambhava, the ninth century religious teacher, and other important religious figures.

¹⁸ In 2010, tiger, leopard, otter, and other animal skins were not worn during New Year.

¹⁹ A Tibetan robe lined with goatskin, worn in winter.

Around twenty percent of villagers aged eight to eighteen do not attend school. Families with two sons often send one to be a monk. All families encourage daughters to stay at home, do housework, and farm while sending sons to school. Daughters who finish school and cannot find official jobs are thought to be unable to do housework and farm work. Such women may go to work in restaurants or hotels in the county town. Villagers disapprove of this, because females in the county town may learn such bad habits as drinking alcohol and going to dance clubs. Poor families' daughters may go to the county town to work as waitresses and hotel attendants. Males do construction work and work as drivers.

INCOME AND SUBSISTENCE

Primary sources of cash income are migrant construction work in and beyond the county town, and the collection and sale of *dbyar rtswa dgun 'bu* 'caterpillar fungus' (*Cordyceps sinensis*) and mushrooms. Each household may earn around 3,000 RMB from collecting *dbyar rtswa dgun 'bu* in Lha ri ma and Ra gzhi, Nyag rong County, where they must pay about 200 RMB per person to locals for the right to collect on the land. Drivers may earn approximately 4,000 RMB annually.

Villagers practice subsistence agriculture, growing barley, wheat, potatoes, and peas, on about seven *mu*²⁰ of land per household. They also herd cows, horses, sheep, goats, and *mdzo*.²¹ Most families have four or five cows and a few families also have sheep, goats, and *mdzo mo*.

²⁰ Certain families have thirteen *mu* and others have only three *mu*. One *mu* = 0.0667 hectares.

²¹ *Mdzo* are yak-cow hybrids. *Mdzo mo* are female yak-cow hybrids.

Some families have three or four horses. Villagers do not sell butter, cheese, or wool, though horses and cows may be sold to earn extra income, which often totals around 1,000 RMB. Certain families sell potatoes in the county town to earn approximately 300 RMB a year. Some villagers need to buy a total of 250-300 kilograms of barley, wheat, flour, and rice from Dkar mdzes County Town every year at a cost of 700-800 RMB. Barley, wheat, flour, and rice can be bought in Nyag rong County Town but are more expensive than in Dkar mdzes County Town.

Agricultural Cycle

Villagers begin farming about one lunar month after *te ndze* by breaking earth clods in their fields.²² Manure is taken from homes to the fields about ten days later. Five or six households form a group and transport manure from their houses to the fields by tractors and cars. After transporting the manure, each group holds a celebration called *li con* 'fertilizer alcohol'. All group members visit a family, bringing rice, vegetables, several bottles of barley liquor, and about twenty RMB.²³ Candies and sunflower seeds are also offered. The dancing and singing lasts the whole day. Fields are irrigated four weeks after transporting manure, which is spread again several days later. Some households also use chemical fertilizers. After one or two days, sowing and plowing begin.

Women begin weeding about two months after plowing. Harvest is two months later. Most villagers now have their own threshing machine, although sometimes two or three

²² Locals follow the same lunar calendar as that used in Lhasa.

²³ Liquor was brought prior to the anti-alcohol reforms. Now a non-alcoholic drink is brought.

households jointly own one. Several families often make a group and help each other thresh. Threshing and winnowing for one family usually takes five or six days.

MODERN DISPLAYS OF WEALTH

Before 2008, spacious houses were built for 150,000-300,000 RMB by wealthy families. Four to ten years is generally required to complete such a house. However, beginning in about 2008, villagers were considered wealthy if they owned nice houses, cars, and trucks (priced 80,000-400,000 RMB). Eleven families owned cars and nearly every village family owned at least one motorcycle in 2010. Two families might buy a car jointly and use it to earn money by, for example, transporting sand, cement, wood, and other construction material in Nyag rong County Town.

NEW RULES

In the 1990s, the larger Tibetan community began commenting on the number of laymen and monks from Nyag rong begging in such places as Chengdu and Xining cities and at various monasteries and nunneries. At times, laymen wear monk's robes in order to increase the amount of donations they receive. It became increasingly common for a beggar's fellow villagers to view him as successful if he returned to the village with a significant amount of cash.

In 2009, an organization named Rig gzhung dar spel tshogs pa was founded by Tshul khriims blo gros and other *mkhan po*²⁴ and *bla ma*. The organization has the following rules listed in a small booklet titled Blang dor gsal ba'i me

²⁴ *Mkhan po* are monks considered to have rich knowledge.

long that has been widely distributed among local community members:

- monks must stay in monasteries for at least a hundred days a year to study and chant,
- all villagers must gather to study and chant for at least fifteen days to one month a year,
- children must attend school,
- wearing knives is forbidden, and
- begging is forbidden.

Households that observed these rules were given a numbered, metal card beginning in 2010. Furthermore, a group of five households had to appear together at the monastery and swear that none of the five households were breaking the five rules. The result was that certain households did not receive this card.

Nyag rong residents commonly take corpses to Gser thang bla rung lnga rig nang bstan slob gling or Ya chen O rgyan bsam gtan gling²⁵ for sky funerals. Without the card, monks will not assist the household with funerals and other rituals.

²⁵ These two monasteries are the largest in Dkar mdzes Prefecture. Gser thang bla rung lnga rig nang bstan slob gling is in Gser rta County and Ya chen O rgyan bsam gtan gling is in Dpal yul County.

Figure One.

A panorama of Bang smad Village shows its location on the banks of the Nyag chu.

Figure Two.

This house is for the Khwa srung family who must fire rifles to stop crows flying above Mgon po rnam rgyal's palace.

Figure Three.

Building this *rtsing khang* 'stone house' took four years. A different part of the house is built each year, usually one floor at a time.

Figure Four.

A house under construction.

Figure Five.

The small wood structure on the left is the toilet. This *rtsing khang* has three floors.

Figure Six.

The wood rooms on the right of the top floor are *bang khang* where Buddhist images and scriptures are kept. Grain might also be stored here. Visiting monks sleep in the *bang khang*.

Figure Seven.

The house owner has a new *gyang khang* 'rammed earth house' that is larger than this house. The family now keeps their straw in this *rtsing khang*. This building is of an older style.

Figure Eight.

Painted *gyang khang* exterior decorated by Chinese workers who were paid about 15,000 RMB.

Figure Nine.

Interior of a *rtsing khang* owned by a relatively wealthy family. Completing such a house requires about four years.

Figure Ten.

Interior of a *rtsing khang* owned by a relatively wealthy family. This is the same room as in Figure Nine, photographed from a different angle.

Figure Eleven.

Villagers cook in the small house on the left. Young family members also sleep there. Villagers do not cook in big new houses, fearing that smoke will discolor the interior. They therefore live in this small house. Some families live in the small house only during winter, believing it is warmer than the big house.

Figure Twelve.

Villagers collect stones to build a house in a quarry that is a ten minute drive from the village.

Figure Thirteen.

Ramming tools remain atop the wall while workers eat lunch.

Figure Fourteen.

Women dig soil to provide enough earth for men to ram. Some men have finished ramming their assigned section and relax.

Figure Fifteen.

Women carry soil up to men ramming the wall.

Figure Sixteen.

Tho lo (b. 1967) wears his hair in the traditional style and relaxes after ramming earth.

Figure Seventeen.

These men will soon finish this section.

Figure Eighteen.

A Chinese carpenter. Four carpenters spent three months building the wooden parts of this home.

Figure Nineteen.

Two artists paint pillars, walls, ceiling, and skirting inside a *gyang khang* that was built in 2003.

Figure Twenty.

Dbang rgyal (b. 1990) in traditional clothes worn by men during *te ndze*.

Figure Twenty-One.

The back of a man's traditional clothes.

Figure Twenty-two.

Bsod namdpal mo wears traditional clothes worn during *te ndze*.

Figure Twenty-three.

The back of a woman's traditional clothes.

Figure Twenty-four.

Manure is hauled to the fields, kept there for about a week, and then spread in the fields, which are then irrigated.

Figure Twenty-five.

O rgyan nor bu (b. 1988) needs four days to plow his fields.

Figure Twenty-six.

Pad ma chos sgron weeds in summer.





















































PART TWO
RELIGION AND FOLK BELIEFS

RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS RITUALS

Villagers in Bang smad are Rnying ma pa and Bka' brgyud pa devotees, and visit Ra rgyal,²⁶ Mtsho kha,²⁷ and Rnga rkang monasteries.²⁸

Seventeen monks and three nuns are from Bang smad Village. The nuns are supported by their families and reside in Gser thang bla rung lnga rig nang bstan slob gling Nunnery²⁹ and study such scriptures as Bsam pa lhun grub, Bar chad lam sel, Sgrol ma, and Thos grol, as well as Buddhist teachings and Tibetan grammar. Villagers respect them and invite them to their homes and give them bread, beef, and candy during *te ndze*.

A few monks stay in their family homes, where older monks teach them to read and write Tibetan. As stated previously, village monks visit Shanghai, Beijing, and Heilongjiang to teach Buddhism and earn money. Villagers do not respect monks who visit Han Chinese places because they feel such monks seek donations from Chinese Buddhists to build monasteries and then give the funds raised to their families to build new houses and buy new cars. Even though some monks donate money to monasteries, villagers suspect they keep much of what they are given for themselves.

Brag mgo Monastery is approximately 800 years old and is located a kilometer northwest of Bang smad Village on a cliff resembling an elephant's head, a site locals

²⁶ This monastery in ri na Village had 150 monks in 2010.

²⁷ This monastery in Ma red Township, Nyag rong County had 200 monks in 2010.

²⁸ This monastery in rja koŋ Village had sixty monks in 2010.

²⁹ Gser thang bla rung lnga rig nang bstan slob gling is in Gser rta County, Dkar mdzes Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture.

consider very auspicious. Monks do not stay year-round in this small monastery. The religious activities *Smyung gnas* and *Gto*, described below, are held there twice each year. The following account describes the monastery's history and its founder, *Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan*.³⁰

The founder of *Brag mgo* Monastery was *Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan*, a *grub thob* 'saint' from 'Brug yul' 'Bhutan' who visited many Tibetan places. Late in his life, he settled in *Bang smad* and asked villagers to build a monastery on that rocky mountain.

He wanted to place a lake in front of the monastery after building it and so went to *Nor khang mtsho sgang* Lake to fetch water. He magically poured all the lake water into two buckets that he then put on his mule. That place was called *Mtsho sgang* 'Lake Summit', but it became known as *Mtsho skam* 'Dry Lake' after *Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan* took the water.

He walked along a road about three kilometers south of *Bang smad*, down *ri ñi* Valley, near *Bya zas* Mountain, a very fierce mountain deity who wanted to prevent *Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan* from carrying water through her territory. *Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan* got angry and stomped a stone with his foot, creating a footprint that can still be seen. He then went along *ri ñi* Valley and reached *Mi mgo*,³¹ where his tired mule lay down, spilling two drops of water, thus creating two small lakes that can still be seen

³⁰ Personal communication with *Rdo rje rgyal mtshan* (b. 1944).

³¹ *Mi mgo* is a pasture in *Bang smad* Village territory, a six-hour horse ride from the village. A local account suggests that long ago a conflict occurred between tribes. So many people were killed that a *lab rtse* (see below) was made with people's heads. *Mi* means 'human' and *mgo* 'head', hence the name *Mi mgo*.

there.

Next, he went up Bang smad Valley to Bang smad Village, and wanted to put a lake in a field at the foot of Brag mgo Monastery. The field owner objected and deliberately carried a basket full of excrement to the field where Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan wanted to put the lake, intentionally creating misfortune. When Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan wanted to create good fortune, he asked the field owner to give fodder to his mule. She then brought a basket full of noxious weeds. Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan then angrily decided not to put a lake in Bang smad Village and asked all the village monks to go with him.

In time they had to cross the Nyag chu River. Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan struck the river with his whip, causing the waters to part. They began crossing and saw gold in the water. Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan asked his disciple, Bla ma klu 'bum, to collect a bowlful of gold, which they used to adorn the central pillar of the chanting hall when they later built Mtsho kha Monastery.

When they reached Skyes bu, malicious spirits wanted to disturb Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan's journey, and caused his mule to abruptly spill a little water on the ground, forming a small lake that can be seen today.

Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan and his disciples finally reached their destination and began building a new monastery. He then poured all the water from the two buckets out in front of the new monastery, and a large lake immediately appeared. The monastery was therefore named Mtsho kha 'Lakeside' Monastery.

Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan then returned to Brag mgo Monastery where he meditated for the rest of his life.

A local monk built a new monastery named Thar ba Monastery and a stupa in Bang smad Village in 2008. Nine monks resided in this Bka' brgyud Monastery in 2010. Villagers go to Thar ba Monastery to circumambulate its

stupa on the thirteenth, fifteenth, and eighteenth days of each lunar month, believing such days to be auspicious times when chanting scriptures and performing other religious activities are especially efficacious. Villagers also do not eat meat on these days.

LOCAL DEITIES

G.yung drung spun dgu is a nine-peaked mountain north of Bang smad Village. Local residents consider the peaks to be nine brothers – the Tibetan *spun dgu* 'nine brothers' refers to the mountain's nine peaks. The *bsang* 'incense' scripture for G.yung drung spun dgu states that the mountains evolved from *btsan*.³² The nine brothers ride different wild animals, carry different weapons, and wear distinct armatures.

Southeast of Bang smad Village, next to G.yung drung spun dgu Mountain, is Sman btsun le'u sman, G.yung drung spun dgu's wife. When Sman btsun le'u sman eloped with G.yung drung spun dgu, her brother, G.yar ri seng ge, sent all his warriors to look for her one night. While searching for Sman btsun le'u sman, sunrise came, turning all the warriors to trees, explaining the tall trees at the foot of Sman btsun le'u sman Mountain. After G.yung drung spun dgu and Sman btsun le'u sman married, G.yar ri seng ge gave some *be lo*³³ trees as a trousseau to Sman btsun le'u sman. *be lo* trees now grow among pines on the slopes of Sman btsun le'u sman Mountain.

³² *Btsan* are spirit beings who follow their leader, Btsan rgod 'bar ba nag po, and have their own *btsan lam* 'btsan path'. Building a house on a *btsan lam* or otherwise blocking or disturbing it results in *btsan* retaliating by harming people with their *btsan mda* 'btsan arrow'.

³³ *be lo* are small white-timbered evergreen trees that are very hard to cut, and are often used to make axe handles.

Bya zas lha mo mched bdun Mountain is south of Bang smad Village. Villagers say that Bya zas lha mo mched bdun is Sman btsun le'u sman's assistant and believe Bya zas lha mo mched bdun is a very fierce mountain deity who even prevents birds from flying above herself.

Dge bsnyen po blo Mountain is west of Bang smad Village. Locals say he is a general who leads all the mountain deities' soldiers. Stones shaped like guns atop Dge bsnyen po blo Mountain are considered his weapons.

When villagers make *bsang* and food offerings, they summon all the local mountain deities: G.yung drung spun dgu, Sman btsun le'u sman, Bya zas lha mo mched bdun, Dge bsnyen po blo, and G.yar ri seng ge. When making offerings to mountain deities, *bsang* is offered in front of G.yung drung spun dgu. *Dar lcog*³⁴ are placed inside and outside *lab rtse*,³⁵ and *rlung rta*³⁶ 'wind horses' are flung in front of the *lab rtse*.

Village leaders organize families to constantly burn *bsang* throughout the summer in front of G.yung drung spun dgu to pray for protection and a good harvest. Each household offers *bsang* for one day in turn. A piece of wood is passed from one household to the next as a reminder of the obligation to burn *bsang*. When a family finishes making *bsang*, the piece of wood is given to the next family. If the designated family forgets to offer *bsang* one day, they make *bsang* the next day and then pass the piece of wood to the next family.

On the fifteenth day of the fifth lunar month, each household sends a male eighteen years or older to the summit of G.yung drung spun dgu Mountain to offer *bsang*.

³⁴ *Dar lcog* are cloth flags printed with scriptures.

³⁵ *Lab rtse* are religious structures of earth and stones where *dar lcog* are placed. *Lab rtse* embody mountain deities.

³⁶ *Rlung rta* are paper flags printed with Tibetan scriptures.

This specific offering is called *ser bsang* 'hail *bsang*' and is offered to beseech mountain deities to protect crops from storms and other natural disasters. All participants take green barley plants pulled from the fields, *dar lcog*, *rlung rta*, *bsang rdzas*,³⁷ *zas mar*,³⁸ milk, barley liquor, water, and food. They meet in the village center and leave together at seven or eight a.m. Participants burn green barley plants, *bsang rdzas*, *zas mar*, water, milk, and barley liquor with conifer sprigs on the mountain. All pray loudly for a good harvest, scatter *rlung rta*, and renew the *lab rste* by inserting new *dar lcog*.

For the remainder of the day, participants play such games as tug-of-war, hold footraces, and take turns singing solo while drinking liquor and beer and eating.

Village elders said:

Our local mountain deity, G.yung drung spun dgu, had a conflict with some other mountain deities. One of the brothers (peaks) was cut by one of the other mountain deities, creating a canyon.

This canyon is believed to be inauspicious because ideally mountain ranges near the village should not feature canyons. The existence of this canyon is thought to explain why village elders do not live to be very old. Consequently, villagers offer *bsang* between two of the mountain peaks (brothers) in order to help elders live longer and prevent disasters.

On the twenty-fifth day of the fifth lunar month, villagers go to la dzə hi Canyon to offer *bsang* and hang prayer flags across the canyon. Gaps in the mountain edifice

³⁷ *Bsang rdzas* is *rtsam pa*, butter, tealeaves, and wool. People burn *bsang rdzas* with conifer needles as an offering to mountain deities.

³⁸ *Zas mar* is a piece of butter encased in *rtsam pa*.

are believed to be inauspicious and hanging prayer flags across the gap completes the edifice and brings prosperity to the community.

On the fourteenth day of the seventh lunar month, each household sends a male to Skyobs 'byin seng nag Mountain,³⁹ where they spend two or three days making *ri bsang*.⁴⁰ Skyobs 'byin seng nag Mountain is venerated by communities throughout the entire county and is far from Bang smad Village. Villagers ride motorcycles there. *Bsang* is offered on the second day. Participants picnic and enjoy being together on the other days. *va rə*, *la k^hu*, *la x^he*, *də t^haw*, *ça di*, *la ɣə*, *ɣdzɜ wɔŋ tɛ ba*, *ɣdzɜ wɔŋ mɛ ba*, *ʈə bə*, *rɲa koŋ*, *boŋ t^ha*, *k^ha loŋ*, *boŋ mi*, and *k^ha ndu* villagers gather to make *bsang* on the morning of the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month, picnic, and enjoy themselves.

In addition to the specific, named deities mentioned above, villagers also believe in *sa bdag* 'landowners', *klu* 'naga', *btsan*, and *gzhi bdag* 'mountain deities'. These deities may be angered by people digging in wild places, dirtying water, or cutting trees on mountains, and then retaliate against villagers or their livestock and crops through disease and disaster. Villagers make offerings of *bsang* to *sa bdag*, *klu*, and *gzhi bdag* to avoid such calamities.⁴¹

³⁹ This mountain near *va rə* and *la k^hu* villages (Bang smad Township) is venerated by all Nyag rong County residents.

⁴⁰ *Ri bsang* 'offering *bsang* on mountains' is done annually on the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month.

⁴¹ These deities consume odors, hence offerings are burned.

OTHER ANNUAL RITUALS

Snang zhi

Snang zhi is held for one day in the fourth or fifth lunar months and is organized by villagers. The date for Snang zhi may change annually depending on when villagers are free. Each household donates 2.5 kilograms of butter, about 2.5 kilograms of grain, twenty RMB, and firewood. A large tent is pitched in p^hu Gu, at the foot of G.yung drung spun dgu, and village monks and *bla ma* are invited inside. Villagers provide three meals a day to monks. The monks and *bla ma* chant scriptures throughout the day as villagers offer *bsang* with much grain, butter, *rtsam pa*, fruit, and salt to their *yul lha* 'territorial deity', *srung ma* 'protector deities', *gzhi bdag*, and *yi dwag* 'hungry ghosts'. The *bsang* ash is collected at the end of the ritual and divided among villagers who sprinkle it in their fields, believing it increases field productivity. The ritual beseeches the deities to protect crops in summer and autumn, and protect residents and livestock from diseases and disaster.

Smyung gnas

The entire fourth lunar month is auspicious because Buddha Shakyamuni was enlightened and died during this month. Smyung gnas is held during this time and is organized by the four *s^h3 pu*, who collect about 7.5 kilograms of grain, five kilograms of butter, and fifty RMB from each household, and also invite all the village monks and *bla ma* to Brag mgo Monastery. A male or female representative from each household assists village leaders in making food for the monks and *bla ma*. The ritual lasts eight days. Each household assigns a person to attend the ritual each day, and village leaders fine absentees ten RMB per day.

Two monks blow white conch shells at about six a.m. summoning all participants to gather at Brag mgo Monastery to receive the *bla ma's* teaching. A monk gives participants water to purify their mouths when they reach the monastery gate. The *bla ma* and monks chant scriptures for about half an hour, and the *bla ma* then gives Buddhist teachings. Participants gather at the *ma Ni* pile⁴² afterwards to circumambulate. Others gather at the *ma Ni khang*⁴³ to turn *ma Ni* wheels and chant scriptures. Most attendees chant *ma Ni* but otherwise avoid speaking in order to emulate a *bla ma's* virtuous behavior. This is called *ngag bcad*. Participants gesture when communication is needed.

The white conch blares again at noon. Participants rinse their mouths and then spit out the water before eating. Much melted butter and *rtsam pa* are often eaten at this time. Participants avoid getting up during the meal because doing so means they may not eat again that day. Thus, they sit and eat until full. *Lan chags*⁴⁴ is made from leftover food, taken to the monastery where monks and *bla ma* purify it, and is then scattered around the monastery as an offering to hungry ghosts and other spirits. Participants go to the monastery in the afternoon, chant with monks for about an hour, and then return home.

Some participants drink one or two bowls of tea at night, which is called *smyung phra*. Those who need to take medicine do so the next day when they have meals as usual, though they must rinse their mouths again before eating.

⁴² The *ma Ni* pile is made of thousands of stones inscribed with *ma Ni* and other sacred writings.

⁴³ The *ma Ni khang* is a hall with scriptures and a large *ma Ni* wheel that people turn while chanting.

⁴⁴ *Lan chags* is made from leftover *rtsam pa* and other food. It is squeezed in the hand and has no specific shape. It is offered to hungry ghosts and other Hell beings.

Village elders circumambulate the *ma Ni* stone pile and *ma Ni khang* during the other days of the fourth lunar month.

Spyi gto

Spyi gto is held three days after Smyung gnas concludes to avert sickness and disasters in the coming year, and to dispel misfortune and obstacles. Villagers pray to the deities to protect them and their livestock.

Villagers contribute clothes and food to make effigies of a monk and a married couple with a son and daughter. Village carpenters and youths use wood and clothes to make the effigies, which are offered to *rgyal mdon*, evil spirits that attack and take away a person's soul. Effigies are offered as substitutes for humans.

On the ritual's final day, the *s^{h3} pu* ask villagers to drive their tractors and cars to escort the effigies to a site two kilometers southeast of Bang smad Village where the Nyag chu River flows swiftly. This is a fixed location chosen by a local *bla ma*. The last day of the ritual exorcises all sickness and bad luck. Approximately ten tractors and five cars escorted the effigies in tractor-trailers in 2010. Participants travel in cars, chanting and setting off firecrackers enroute.

Planks and wire are used to make several rafts. Each effigy is placed with grain and clothes on different rafts, which are then placed in the river and carried away. A disaster-free year is portended when the river swiftly carries the effigies away. It is a bad omen if the rafts return to the shore or if an effigy faces the village. The rafts are quickly pushed back into the stream with long poles in such cases, and stones are thrown near them to make the rafts move away or turn.

While returning to the village, three stones and several pieces of wood are placed at the crossroads, creating

effigies called *t^hu* that are about a meter tall and resemble a standing person. *t^hu* prevent disasters, sickness, and evil spirits from returning to the village.

Sa bdag 'khrug bcos (Snang brgyad)

This three-day ritual is held during the fourth and fifth lunar months on a date chosen by local *bla ma*. The name means 'to eliminate the *sa bdag's* anger'. Three or four monks are invited to hold the ritual and chant scriptures.

At the end of Sa bdag 'khrug bcos, a young householder asks all village children to come to a place local residents consider to be the home of *klu*. Monks or *bla ma* chant scriptures for about an hour, make *bsang*, and offer milk, steamed barley, wool, and bread. The children chant *sid+dhi*⁴⁵ together loudly and then sit in a large circle. Households give candy, steamed barley, a small loaf of bread, and steamed rice to each child.

G.yang sgrub

Each village household enshrines their *g.yang* and *g.yang mda*⁴⁶ in a *zo*. Villagers invite five or six monks to hold this ritual for two or three days during the fourth and fifth lunar months and during wedding parties. Monks chant scriptures, add more cloth to the *g.yang mda'*, and pray for a bountiful harvest and for the family's wealth to increase.

⁴⁵ Repeating this mantra of Padmasambhava – oM aHhU~M' badz+ra gu ru pad+ma sid+dhi hU~M': – is believed to exorcise evil and sickness.

⁴⁶ The *g.yang mda'* is considered the *g.yang's* body and is an arrow with pieces of yellow, green, blue, white, and red cloth tied to it.

Btsan mchod

If illness comes after building a house or digging in a wild place, a monk may be asked to hold a *btsan mchod* 'btsan offering' that requires about two hours to complete. This ritual is also held during Gto. A monk makes a *gtor ma*⁴⁷ resembling a house, chants scripture, and offers grain, bread, and meat, symbolizing thousands of yaks, sheep, and goats and abundant grain. Villagers consider *k^ho ja boṅ rə* and *ko ja boṅ rə* – two small peaks near the village – to be part of G.yung drung spun dgu Mountain and to be inhabited by *btsan*. A male from the home takes the *gtor ma* to one of the mountains at the end of the ritual. Half the village families take *gtor ma* to *k^ho ja boṅ rə* and the other half goes to *ko ja boṅ rə*, where the *gtor ma* are discarded.

Gshin phud

Every household invites a monk to perform Gshin phud when a villager dies. Gshin ma is responsible for every death and goes to other village homes to attack other householders after killing someone.

Monks repel Gshin ma by chanting scriptures and scattering peas in a house from roof to gate. A boy goes with the monks, and when monks sprinkle peas in a room, he stays above the monks on a ladder to stop Gshin ma going upstairs. The boy who follows the monks brings ash from the family stove. The gate is closed after the monks and boy exit. The monks then draw ×× on the doorstep and a half circle on the ground in front of the door with ash given by the boy and then chant for a short time. Gshin ma now cannot enter the home. The monks depart and the boy opens the gate to return home.

⁴⁷ Monks and *bla ma* make *gtor ma* from *rtsam pa*.

Khyi mgo lag bkru (Khyi mgo lag gtsang)

Khyi mgo lag bkru 'washing the dog's head' is a ritual to purify unclean people. Those who touch a human corpse or a dead dog or horse may not make such offerings as *bsang*, until a monk performs Khyi mgo lag bkru. He makes a dog's head from *rtsam pa*, puts it on a flat stone, and chants scriptures over it for about half an hour. The polluted person washes their hands and then shakes them nine times above the effigy, which the polluted person then carries nine steps away before discarding it. This person may make offerings again after finishing Khyi mgo lag bkru. Those who do not hold Khyi mgo lag bkru will weaken and eventually lose their *lus lha*,⁴⁸ and are then easily attacked by ghosts and other evils.

Mdos

It is believed evil spirits are trying to take away the spirit of an ill person if medicine proves ineffective. A monk is then asked to hold Mdos. The monk makes a *rtsam pa* effigy resembling the ill person, chants scriptures for about three hours, and then tells the householder to discard the effigy outside the house. The effigy is thus given to the spirits as a substitute for the ill person.

⁴⁸ Every person has their own *lus lha* 'body deity' on their head protecting them from harm.

te ndze: THE NEW YEAR

The a la Jo Ritual

Villagers hold the a la Jo fourteen days before te ndze on the evening of the twenty-ninth day of the eleventh lunar month. Those aged eleven to thirty from each household make bonfires, burn straw torches, and circumambulate the village to expel ghosts, sicknesses, and other evils.

The ritual begins between six and seven in the evening, when four *s^h3 pu* go to na go, a field in the village center. They announce the ritual's commencement and visit each household, asking participants to come to na go. About fifty young villagers then gather in the field wearing old clothes and bringing tied bundles of wheat straw from their homes.⁴⁹ Since 2005, many families began using threshing machines instead of threshing by hand and thus lack long straw because the threshing machine breaks straw into short pieces. Thus they may collect and store straw especially for a la Jo. Others may ask neighbors for bundled straw.

Once the families are gathered, village leaders record the names of families not represented and later ask them to pay a fine of ten or fifteen RMB. The young participants collect wood from shrubs at the field's edges, make a pile about three meters high in the middle of na go, and light a bonfire when darkness comes. Participants then use the bonfire to ignite their straw bundles, and begin yelling, "*a la Jo, a la ce!*"⁵⁰

Participants circle the bonfire once holding their torches, then circle the village. On the village outskirts they shout, "*a la Jo, a la ce, Ja bo s^hu tɕ^hε nə qε*" "*a la Jo, a la ce*, pay straw tax to the king!" and then continue yelling "*a la Jo*,

⁴⁹ Straw has been saved for fodder since harvest.

⁵⁰ This phrase has no lexical meaning.

a la ɕe!" while running around the village and asking families for more straw bundles to burn. Families throw bundles from the roofs of their houses, which participants scramble to collect. Some families recently began setting off firecrackers from the roofs of their houses as participants circumambulate the village.

Participants walk with their torches towards a field called *rə ndzə* near the field where the ritual began. Prior to participants' arrival at *rə ndzə*, families from that village section have collected wood, brought straw bundles to the field, and stacked it. Participants light these bundles to make a second, final bonfire. As the bonfire burns low, most participants jump over it, in the belief that this removes impurities and sickness accumulated during the past year, and is also thought to help avoid sickness and bad luck in the coming year.

Finally, participants remove their shoes, take a handful of straw from unburned bundles, put it inside their shoes, take several steps after putting their shoes back on, stop, remove the straw, and then burn it, to further ensure removal of bodily impurities.

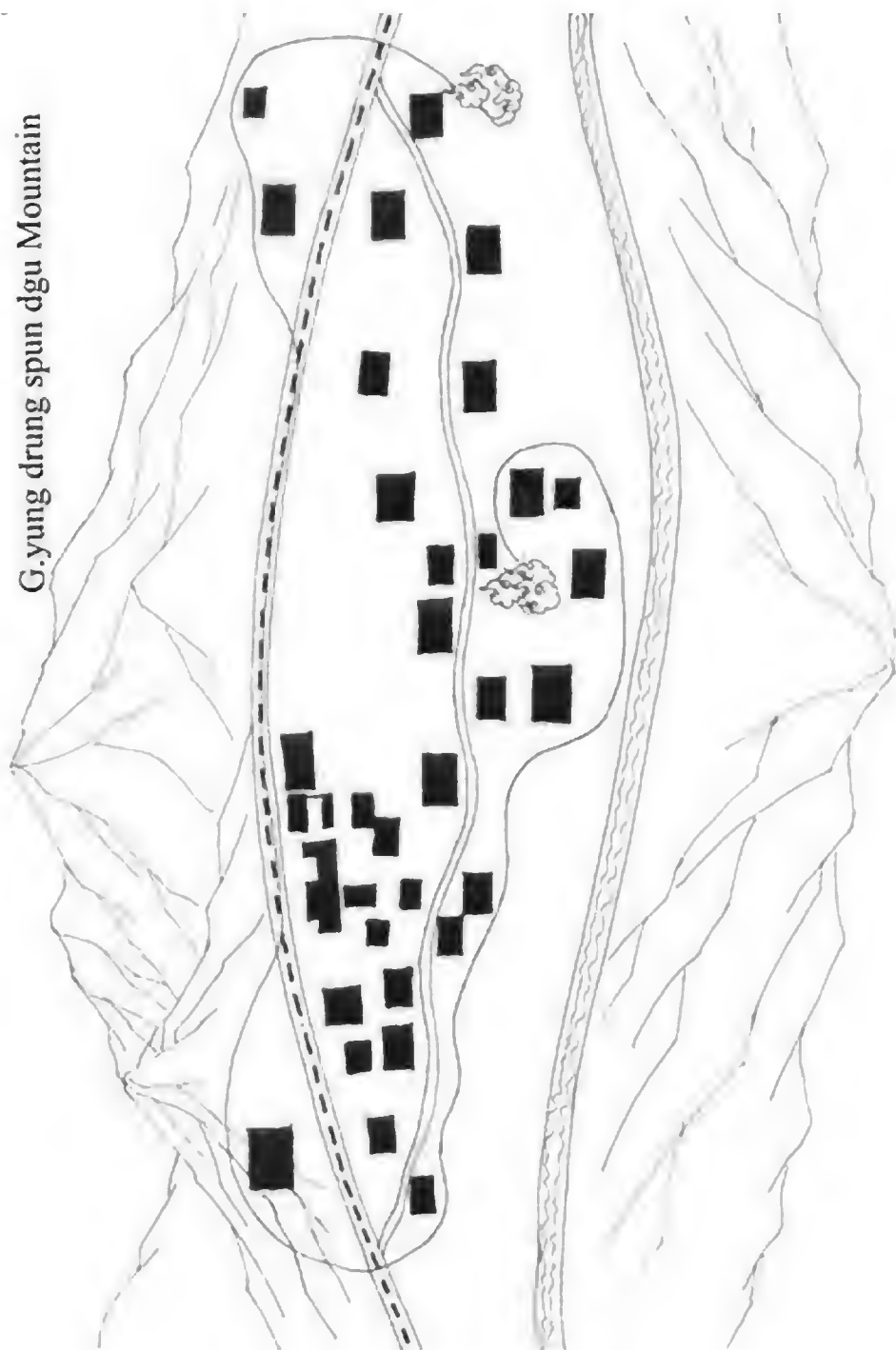
Ritual participants stay by the bonfire and chant *sid+dhi* for ten minutes. The fire gradually burns out and participants go home, collecting stones and twigs near the path, and putting about four stones and three pieces of wood at crossroads throughout the village, creating one-meter high effigies called *t^hu* that resemble a standing person. After placing the *t^hu*, participants say, "*ŋa ne ts^ha s^hɔ, te nde tɕə s^hɔ, t^ha ɟe ʃa ts^hɔ p^ha ri də ʃɔ* May all bad luck go far away to the opposite shore of a boundless ocean, do not return to this *t^hu*."

The *a la Jo* ritual is completed in about two hours. Historically, youths between twelve and eighteen years of age then held parties. Four or five boys and girls chose a family and stayed with them that night. Each took a piece of meat, uncooked rice, and a bottle of barley liquor. They

danced *skor bro* 'Tibetan circle dances' and modern dances, sang, and ate together. Such parties are no longer common in Bang smad Village.

Facing page: The following map of Bang smad Village was drawn by Ban de tshe ring (male, b.1988). The lines and fires represent activities associated with the a la Jo ritual.

G.yung drung spun dgu Mountain



Before 1e ndze

Before restrictions were placed on liquor consumption, women previously prepared for 1e ndze by making liquor by boiling barley and water in a large pot. After boiling, clear liquor was added and the mixture put in a warm place (e.g., a storeroom) for fifty days. The liquid was then boiled again in a large iron distiller, and the liquor collected using a tube running into a bucket.

Men and women clean their home ceilings on the twenty-ninth day of the eleventh lunar month. Kitchen utensils, buckets, and bedding are moved out of the house. Furniture is covered by plastic to prevent dust from soiling it. Male family members use wheat flour to decorate the inside walls, doors, and posts with *bkra shis rtags brgyad*.⁵¹ Water buckets, teapots, and bowls are decorated with *phra tog* 'small, flat discs of butter', symbolizing luck.

Most families slaughter a yak before the New Year and make sausages from yak meat and intestines. *Khrag rgyu* 'blood sausage' and *rtsam rgyu* '*rtsam pa* sausage' are made. Villagers visit Nyag rong and Dkar mdzes county towns to buy cigarettes, candy, fireworks, peanuts, vegetables, and clothes. In the past liquor and beer were purchased. A household typically spends about 3,000 RMB on 1e ndze preparations.

The night of 1e ndze Eve is called *a qa Jo*, a term without particular meaning. As stars appear, a person from every family fetches water in the belief that it will be purified and sanctified by starlight. Such water is called *skar chu* 'star water'. Adult male household members mix this water with roasted barley flour to make *1ə mdzu*, small

⁵¹ *Bkra shis rtags brgyad* (the Eight Auspicious Symbols) consist of the parasol, a pair of gold fish, a treasure vase, a lotus, a white conch shell, an endless knot, a victory banner, and the gold wheel of the *dharma* (Beer 1999).

sculptures shaped like mountains, for each family member. They then make two larger sculptures for G.yung drung spun dgu, and one for the *g.yang* and other local mountain deities.

Every family member eats their *ṣa mdzu* on the first day of *ṭe ndze*. The two other large sculptures are burned in *bsang* on the mountain as offerings to G.yung drung spun dgu. The final large *ṣa mdzu* is put in the *zo* as an offering to the *g.yang*. The family eats the sacred *ṣa mdzu* after *ṭe ndze* is finished.

Every family member should be at home on *ṭe ndze* Eve. Women prepare steamed meat-stuffed dumplings, noodles, fried vegetables, and rice. The whole family feasts together between about nine and ten p.m. and then goes to bed.

ṭe ndze

All girls over eighteen years old and all female heads of households (usually the mother or wife) get up at five to six a.m. on the first day of *ṭe ndze*, go to the main room of the home that serves as both kitchen and sitting room, and spread out carpets on the *χṣa Je*, a heated bed and sitting platform. Tables are placed by the *χṣa Je* and covered with dishes of food, e.g., *dzṣa cə* 'twisted bread', boiled yak meat, sunflower seeds, bread, candy, and, in the past, bottles of liquor. A female household member burns a juniper sprig inside the house and takes it to the courtyard gate to greet King Ge sar, who locals believe visits every home on the first day of *ṭe ndze*. The family whose matriarch gets up earliest is believed to be the first visited by King Ge sar and consequently village women compete to receive this prestigious honor. The woman says:

¹ལྷ་བྱོན། ལྷ་བྱོན། སྒྲིང་སང་ཆེན་རྩ་བུ་དག་འདུལ། ལྷ་བྱོན།

¹Come, come. King Ge sar, come

while standing at the gate, inviting King Ge sar to visit the home, and then puts the smoking juniper above or next to the household gate.

All family members are up by around seven a.m., have a breakfast of *rtsam pa* and milk tea, and then put on their best clothes, which are worn until *le ndze* ends. Villagers above the age of eighteen wear traditional Tibetan robes while young villagers wear modern pants and jackets. A male older than ten or eleven makes an offering of *bsang* on the stove after dressing. This offering is called *thab bsang*⁵² and is to a family's *thab lha* 'stove deity' and to local mountain deities. The male performing the *thab bsang* makes an offering of *bsang* in the *bsang khang* 'bsang altar' of the home. He prays loudly for the family, crops, and livestock to be protected from illness and disasters:

¹ལྷ་མ་ཡི་དམ་དཔའ་བོ་མཁའ་འགྲོ་ཆོས་རྒྱུང་ཡུལ་ལྷ་གཞི་བདག་འཁོར་དང་བཅས་པ།

²ལྷ་བསང་ངོ།

³བདག་ཅག་མི་རྩ་འཁོར་དང་བཅས་པ་ལ་མགོན་ཆུབ་སྤྱི་བློང་རྒྱལ་མཚན། དཔའ་ཡ་
དང་དབྱང་རྒྱས་མཚན།

⁴ལྷ་བསང་ངོ། བསང་ངོ་མཚན་དོ།

¹*Bla ma* (the superior one), *yi dam* (tutelary deities),
heroes, *dakini* (goddesses), guardian deities,
local deities, and all deities.

²(I make) a pure offering to you.

³Protect and help all humans and livestock by preventing
sickness, disaster, and misfortune.

⁴(I make) a pure offering, a pure offering to you.

⁵² *Thab bsang* 'stove incense'.

Every family renews the *lab rtse* on the roof of their house, unless someone in their family has died during the previous year. All family members have bread, boiled beef, *ja mdzu*, and milk tea after the *bsang* offering. At around eleven a.m., able male family members go to G.yung drung spun dgu Mountain on horseback, where *bsang* and *rlung rta* are offered to G.yung drung spun dgu on a stone platform. Four *s^{h3} pu* invite about ten local monks who come with a drum, bells, two conch shells, and scriptures. After the monks finish chanting scriptures, everyone prays loudly, reciting the same prayer as during the *bsang* offering.

Monks ask all village men to swear in front of the *bsang* platform to abstain from killing wild animals, drinking alcohol (beer, wine, liquor), and smoking tobacco for the year following the *le ndze* celebration. Making this oath on the mountainside started in about 1967. The oath was taken in Ra rgyal, Mtsho kha, or Rnga rkang monasteries before the Cultural Revolution. These monasteries were damaged or destroyed during the Cultural Revolution, and villagers secretly offered *bsang* and took the oath on G.yu drung spun dgu Mountain.

Bsang is offered again and then men sit in a circle by the *bsang* platform. The *s^{h3} pu* and elders make rules regarding *le ndze*, e.g., they might stipulate that men should not wear knives during *le ndze* in order to avoid violence, warn that fighting and disobeying a village leader will be punished, and discuss how many days the villagers will celebrate *le ndze* indoors and outdoors. Villagers generally spend the first two days of *le ndze* indoors and the next four days outside, though this may change yearly according to the decision made the first day.

Men and boys ride horses back through the village after finishing activities on G.yung drung spun dgu Mountain. Other villagers wait along the path. Most families are very busy because they invite relatives to their home on the afternoon of the first day of *le ndze*. They give fried

bread, a piece of beef, and candy to each relative. Some families invite monks to chant scriptures and make *gsur* for relatives who died one or more years previously.

Every family visits other households on the second day of *te ndze*. Villagers invite neighbors and friends to eat, watch television, and chat. All household members except for the frail, the very young, and new mothers, visit other households the entire day. Some men may return home as late as eleven or twelve at night.

Three-year-old children are taken when visiting. The child's hair is braided with a white silk scarf in which coral and turquoise beads and protective amulets are tied. During this visit, called *p^hə və*, all relatives give gifts to the three-year-old child. A child's senior *a yə* 'maternal uncle' gave a horse to his niece or nephew in the past, but now gives 500 to 1,000 RMB. Other relatives give fifty to 100 RMB.

Villagers have a horserace on the fifteenth day of the twelfth lunar month. A male from each household – about thirty participants in all – competes. Each household must have a participant in the horserace or pay a 100 to 200 RMB fine. Some families go to other villages to borrow horses for the race. In 2010, fewer families owned horses and owned cars and motorcycles instead. Elders and village leaders decided that each family must buy a horse in 2010. Some families may need to break in young horses before the horserace and ask other male villagers to help.

Every villager puts on their finest clothes and jewelry to display their wealth on the day of the horserace. During the race, some riders perform handstands while riding, or jump to the ground and then back onto their galloping horses. After three races, the riders and villagers dance *skor bro* while the horses rest. Racing and dancing alternate for the rest of the day. Before village dancers finish the last dance, an elder makes a speech praising the famous mountains, rivers, and monasteries in Nyag rong County, and

praising local mountains, rivers, fields, and people. Dancers are rewarded with *dzə te* 'cash'. The orator names the people who provided such cash donations.

From the sixteenth to the eighteenth days of the twelfth lunar month, elders mingle and relax outside their homes. Other villagers meet at na go in the village center to dance, sing, and perform comedies. All dancers again dress in their best clothes and jewelry on the eighteenth day of *le ndze*. In the afternoon before the final dance, an orator repeats the same speech he gave at the horserace, and then all participants dance in a large circle for about an hour, concluding *le ndze*.

Gto is held three or more days after *le ndze* concludes, although there is no set date. Most families hold Gto to pray for luck and prosperity in the coming year after *le ndze* finishes. Households invite about ten village monks to their homes, who make *gtor ma*, and then chant scriptures for two days. On the second and final day of the ritual, an adult male from the household carries a *gtor ma* out of the house to a nearby field and burns it in a fire positioned relative to their household members' zodiac signs;⁵³ locals believe each zodiac animal lives in a different direction. A lama then tells a family precisely where they should burn the *gtor ma*.

Return to Daily Life

Villagers wear ordinary clothes, eat everyday food (*rtsam pa*, bread, rice, and fried vegetables) and resume work after *le ndze*. Some male family members prepare to leave to work outside the community. Others collect firewood from

⁵³ The zodiac signs are the rat, ox, tiger, rabbit, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, rooster, dog, and pig.

the mountains, slide it down frozen streams, and then use tractors to take it home for new building projects or to burn as fuel. Farming begins in the second lunar month and villagers are then busy in the fields until after harvest in the ninth lunar month.

OMENS AND OTHER FOLK BELIEFS

Omens are discernible from people, animals, dreams, and various natural phenomena. A *bla ma* is consulted when a bad omen occurs.

Good Omens

- It is auspicious to hear the first cuckoo of spring when in a good mood and relaxed, but it is a bad portent if it is heard when in bed, going to the toilet, doing hard work, or hungry. This blessing is sung when the first cuckoo is heard:⁵⁴

Literary Tibetan

¹བྱ་ཁྱེད་ཁ་དྲོ་མི་ང་ཆེ་རིང་།

²ཁྱེད་ཨ་དགུང་དགུང་ནས་གཤམ་ཤེས་ཤོག།

³ང་ཨ་གཤོང་གཤོང་ནས་ཉན་ཤེས་འོང་།

⁴ཁྱེད་ད་ལོ་ལས་སང་ལོ་མཁྱེགས་པ་ཤོག།

⁵ང་ད་ལོ་ལས་སང་ལོ་སྦྱིད་པ་ཤོག།

⁶ཁྱེད་ད་ལོ་ལས་སང་ལོ་རྒྱས་པ་ཤོག།

⁷ང་ད་ལོ་ལས་སང་ལོ་རྒྱས་པ་ཤོག།

⁸སང་ལོ་ད་ཆོད་ཆད་རེད།

⁹ཟས་མར་བཅུ་གསུམ་འཛོམས།

⁵⁴ Rdo rje rgyal mtshan (b. 1945).

Oral Tibetan

- ¹བྱ་རྟ་ཁ་ངོ། མི་ང་ཆོ་རིང་།
²རྟ་ཨ་དགོང་དགོང་ནས་གྲགས་ཤེས་ཤོག།
³ང་ཨ་གཤིང་གཤིང་ནས་ཉན་ཤེས་བྱང་།
⁴རྟ་ད་ལོ་ཡིས་སང་བད་མཁྱེགས་པ་ཤོག།
⁵ང་ད་ལོ་ཡིས་སང་བད་ཁྱེད་པ་ཤོག།
⁶རྟ་ད་ལོ་ཡིས་སང་ལོ་རྒྱས་པ་ཤོག།
⁷ང་ད་ལོ་ཡིས་སང་ལོ་རྒྱས་པ་ཤོག།
⁸སང་ལོ་ད་ཆོད་ཆོད་སྤྱིག།
⁹ཟས་མར་བརྩ་གསུམ་མཛོ།

- ¹I hope that you and I will be long-lived.
²You sing from the sky,
³I listen from the valley,
⁴I hope that (next year) you will come sooner than this year,
⁵I hope that (next year) I will be happier than this year,
⁶I hope that (next year) you will be more prosperous than this year,
⁷I hope that (next year) I will be more prosperous than this year,
⁸Next year,
⁹I hope you will have thirteen *zas mar*.

- It is a good omen when food or tea boils over.
- Losing a hat means to lose all one's bad luck.
- A person with large, thick ears will become rich.
- A magpie heard in the morning portends good news will come that day.
- Success will come if a person carrying a full bucket of

water or children wearing nice clothes are encountered when leaving the village to do seasonal work or business.

- Dreaming of something burning means the mountain deity is protecting you.
- Dreaming of falling from a very high place means you are growing taller.
- Snow on the first day of *te ndze* is auspicious, as encapsulated in the local adage, "*Lo sar kha ba gser las dkon* New Year snow is rarer than gold."
- Finding a rope is very auspicious even if the rope was used to carry a corpse (a person may use a rope to transport a corpse on their back).
- Rainbows signify good luck. If the two ends of a rainbow are on rocky mountains, rain will continue to fall until the rocky mountains have disappeared. If one side is on a river, rain will only stop when the river becomes dry.
- Seeing a rabbit while beginning a journey is a good omen. Locals say, "*A bu ri bong bsam pa dkar bo* A good-hearted rabbit."
- It is a very good omen to see others carrying a corpse at the start of a journey.
- A child will become a high reincarnate *bla ma* if there are wrinkles in the shape of the moon, sun, a mountain, or an ocean on his tongue.
- Accidentally wearing clothes inside out suggests good things will be received from others.

- A mole under the mouth suggests the person will have much food to eat and will never be hungry.

Bad Omens

- People believe dogs can see demons at night, and will howl if they see a demon, a very ominous portent.
- It is ominous to hear a colt neighing at night.
- It is inauspicious to hear an owl hooting or to see an owl perched atop a house.
- It is ominous if a grouse perches atop a house.
- It is ominous if wild birds or animals come to a house or village.
- It is ominous to see a monkey riding a musk deer.
- It is a very bad sign if a snake is seen eating a frog, bird, or any other animal.
- It is believed that snakes show their feet when beaten. It is a bad sign to see snakes' feet.
- It is ominous to see a bird with a snake in its claws.
- It is ominous to see snakes between the tenth and twelfth lunar months and to see otters in summer. An adage states: "*Dbyar sram dgun sbrul* Summer otter, winter snake."
- Finding a piece of gold bigger than one's finger is very ominous because such gold is thought to have been

provided to pay for one's funeral. To find *gzi*⁵⁵ or coral is inauspicious, while finding turquoise or a conch shell is fortuitous.

- It is very ominous to give birth to a child without hands or visible sex organs, with three legs, with extra fingers or hands, or if the child is blind or dumb.
- It is considered a bad omen for someone if a rat chews part of their clothes.
- It is inauspicious to give birth to a female in the same zodiac year as the mother, who will fall ill after delivering. However, good fortune is portended if she gives birth to a boy in the same zodiac year as her own.
- It is bad luck to see people having sex during the daytime. The viewer then shows their genitalia as this sends the misfortune back to the couple. If this is done, monks should be asked to hold a ritual. The person who purposely displayed their genitalia then puts a stick into the earth where the people were having sex to avoid misfortune.
- It is inauspicious and rude to give a guest a chipped bowl or cup.
- It is inauspicious to sweep the house soon after a person leaves, especially if they are leaving on a long journey. To do so means they will encounter misfortune on the journey. Sweeping is done the next day.
- People never keep a hat they find even if it is very

⁵⁵ *Gzi* are rare, precious agate beads considered to be animate.

valuable. To do so brings the wearer all of the hat's previous owner's bad luck.

- Dreaming about a damaged house or a house being damaged particularly by the house owner is a sign of misfortune.
- Those who dream of running about naked will soon lose their reputation.
- It is inauspicious to dream of losing a tooth or cutting trees.
- Dreaming of the setting sun or of a butter lamp that is nearly extinguished portends one's imminent death.
- A person with a mole under their eye will often cry.
- It is very inauspicious for livestock to give birth to offspring with two heads or five feet.
- You will be cheated by others if you wear two hats at once.
- A solar or lunar eclipse occurs because the sun or moon have been eaten by Sgra gcan, an enormous demon. Long ago, a solar eclipse continued for many days. A *bla ma* then used his *rdo rje* 'thunderbolt' to pierce Sgra gcan's throat and the sun emerged. Sgra gcan can now no longer swallow and everything pours out of his throat. Buckets of water are brought outside during the eclipse, because the sun or moon fighting with Sgra gcan can be seen reflected in the surface of the water. Villagers make butter lamps, fire guns, and recite the mantra of Padmasambhava to help the sun or moon quickly emerge from Sgra gcan's throat. Villagers believe solar or lunar

eclipses are unfavorable for *bla ma* and leaders who have high positions.

- The number nine is unlucky and people never go out to work in groups of nine. When leaving the house to work, eight or ten loaves of bread are taken, never nine.
- A crow defecating on a person's body signifies approaching illness. The afflicted person then begs for grain at each village household. This grain is roasted with some of their own grain. Children then are invited to their courtyard to recite the mantra of Padmasambhava for about an hour and given some of the roasted grain to eat.

Others

- A lost tooth is wrapped in wool and tossed heavenwards while praying to have a new tooth, saying, "*k^hɔ dʒə va dʒə ʃɔ rɜ dʒ x^hɔ, tɕaw dʒə tɕaw mi lɔ rɔ nə ʎa* Dog tooth and pig tooth go away – give me a metal tooth."
- Itching feet suggest imminent travel.
- A cat washing its face by licking its paws and running them over its face suggests guests will come.
- To remove a wart from a hand, the person extracts blood from the wart and secretly puts the blood on their *a ʎɔ* (maternal uncle)'s hands.
- It is believed that the mother of a child with a big mole on its body stole a hide when she was pregnant. If a pregnant woman walks by someone softening a hide, it is believed the pregnant woman may steal the hide,

meaning the hide cannot be softened well.

- The mother is believed to have stolen dye when she was pregnant if a child has a red mole on their body. Dye seen by a pregnant woman will be ineffective.
- A lost tooth should not be seen by a pregnant woman, because she steals teeth for her unborn infant and the person who lost the tooth will be unable to grow a new tooth.
- The mountain deity is happy and will protect whoever sees flowers in winter and whoever sees wildlife at any time of the year while circumambulating a sacred mountain.
- Rubbing the eyes with a *skya ka* 'bird's gallbladder' allows one to see ghosts and gods at night.
- Tea is drunk after eating meat at night in fear of being reincarnated as a wolf.
- No reply is made if your name is called at night until it has been called three times. Ghosts call people's names to lure them away, but never call three times – only people do.
- Before selling livestock, soot mixed in butter is put on the animal's face, and hair is cut from the tip of the tail to prevent a decrease in the family's *g.yang*.
- Cobwebs on ceilings of the first floor are never swept away. Doing so prevents a family from becoming rich.
- Pouring a cup to overflowing indicates that the guest is unwelcome. Locals say, "*Mi dga' ja blug* (If you) dislike

(someone) pour (much) tea."

- Starting a journey on an inauspicious date bodes ill. Astrologers or *bla ma* are asked to choose an auspicious date for travel. Those who must leave on an inauspicious day choose another auspicious date before the actual departure date and pretend to leave by taking luggage, saying goodbye to their family members, going outside the house, and walking several meters. They then return and leave on the inauspicious day.
- *Gzi* can magically move away from people. If *gzi* are found, they should be stepped or spit on, thus polluting them before picking them up, or they will be taken by *mi ma yin*.⁵⁶
- Many snakes coiled together in a ball is a good omen. Atop all the snakes will be one with a golden horn. If this snake is given a piece of yellow or blue cloth it will give its golden horn in return. However, it is very inauspicious to see snakes emerging from a ball of snakes.
- A child may change sex after birth. Such changes are most commonly male to female and caused by '*dre mo*'⁵⁷ 'witches'. A baby changes sex if a '*dre mo* visits a mother who gave birth in the past several months. Sex change may also result if mothers eat food prepared by a '*dre mo* or a widow. Mothers therefore avoid eating food from other homes and visiting other families for three weeks after giving birth.

⁵⁶ *Mi ma yin* are formless spirits or hungry ghosts.

⁵⁷ A '*dre mo* is a woman who stays at home at night but is seen by others outside her home in the village.

- One's *lus lha* is offended when walking under a ladder, resulting in illness.
- People are protected by a lamp on each shoulder and should never look back when out at night. Doing so extinguishes the lamps and then the person with extinguished lamps will see ghosts, who then attack at night.
- Swallowing saliva when a shooting star is seen helps revive one's memory.
- A child that rides dogs will be a bed-wetter, which is why parents stop children from riding dogs.
- Marriage between relatives separated by less than three generations is taboo. Such marriages are thought to produce deformed children.
- Hands are swept with a broom during a solar eclipse to remove warts.
- Nail clippings are never discarded in the open, in the belief that nail clippings eaten by a bird make it become mad and die. In turn, the dead bird will be eaten by a dog that will become mad and bite a person, who in turn, will also go mad.
- Hair is collected after combing or cutting and kept in a ball that is disposed of in a high place or burnt. If it is left in a low place, it may be stepped on, offending one's *lus lha*.
- Second-hand clothes or one's own clothes that others have worn are held over burning incense to purify them. Others' quilts or clothes may be trampled or spat on for

the same purpose.

- Snakes and frogs are embodiments of *klu*. Beating snakes or frogs results in livestock giving little milk.
- Drunks do not cross rivers because doing so increases the degree of their inebriation.
- As people can see snakes shed their skin, it is believed that horses can see people shed their skin.
- A person who beats the grassland will soon experience some heart-wrenching calamity and will therefore beat their own chest.

Figure One.

Brag mgo Monastery is 800 years old and situated on a rocky mountain 500 meters from Bang smad Village.

Figure Two.

Mtsho kha Monastery and the lake created by Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan.

Figure Three.

Thar ba Monastery and a *mchod rten* built in 2008.

Figure Four.

G.yung drung spun dgu Mountain is east of Bang smad Village.

Figure Five.

Sman btsun le'u sman Mountain is southeast of Bang smad Village.

Figure Six.

G.yar ri seng ge Mountain is southwest of Bang smad Village.

Figure Seven.

Bya zas lha mo mched bdun Mountain is south of Bang smad Village.

Figure Eight.

Dge bsnyen po blo Mountain is west of Bang smad Village.

Figure Nine.

Effigies made by monks and laymen.

Figure Ten.

Effigies of a mother and her daughter made by monks and male villagers with villagers' donations.

Figure Eleven.

During the Spyi gto ritual, villagers gather and send off effigies and offer much grain in order to exorcise sickness, disasters, and bad luck.

Figure Twelve.

Young villagers put effigies on tractor trailers.

Figure Thirteen.

Villagers in cars, motorcycles, and tractors escort effigies to the Nyag chu River.

Figure Fourteen.

Young male villagers divide into three groups at the riverbank. Each group makes a raft.

Figure Fifteen.

A raft is made using wood and wire.

Figure Sixteen

Male villagers use metal wire to tie effigies to a raft.

Figure Seventeen.

Male villagers tie wire to the front of the raft and direct it using this wire after pushing it into the water.

Figure Eighteen.

Male villagers push the monk effigies away.

Figure Nineteen.

Male villagers throw stones near the effigies to cause them to flow away. It is considered ominous if the effigies turn back or stop.

Figure Twenty.

Grain and clothes are put on the rafts with the effigies, which

the river carries away. As the rafts move away, villagers say, "Take away all sickness of people and livestock. Please go to the opposite side of a boundless ocean, where many people dance and sing and where there is much delicious food and many nice clothes."

Figure Twenty-one.

Tshe dbang dpal 'byor puts effigies on a raft.

Figure Twenty-two.

The effigies are carried away by the Nyag chu River. It is a good sign when the effigies float smoothly away.

Figure Twenty-three.

Male villagers push the last effigies away. Some wood is left from making the raft, which is not taken back to the village in fear that it may bring bad luck.

Figure Twenty-four.

Villagers drive cars, tractors, and motorcycles back to the village after sending off the effigies.

Figure Twenty-five.

Tshe dbang chants scripture and offers grain, bread, and meat to *btsan*, symbolizing thousands of yaks, sheep, goats, and much grain.

Figure Twenty-six.

This small peak, named རྩ་ཤུག་རྩ་ཤུག་རྩ་ཤུག་, is considered part of the G.yung drung spun dgu Mountain and is thought to be inhabited by *btsan*.

Figure Twenty-seven.

On the twenty-ninth day of the eleventh lunar month, all a la Jo participants hold wheat straw bundles, wait for the village leader or an elder to light the bonfire, and then light their

torches from the bonfire.

Figure Twenty-eight.

All participants circle the bonfire with their straw torches prior to circling the village.

Figure Twenty-nine.

Two a la Jo participants wait for a family to throw straw from their roof.

Figure Thirty.

Pad ma rgyal mtshan (b. 1964) makes *ṣṇ mdzu* on the night of ʼte ndze Eve for G.yung drung spun dgu, the family *g.yang*, and for family members.

Figure Thirty-one.

Tshe ring mtsho mo displays fruit juice, candy, peanuts, etc. on the night of ʼte ndze Eve.

Figure Thirty-two.

Pad ma rgyal mtshan makes *thab bsang* on the first day of ʼte ndze.

Figure Thirty-three.

Pad ma rgyal mtshan offers *bsang* on the roof of his house while praying loudly.

Figure Thirty-four.

All households offer *bsang* on their houses roofs on the first day of ʼte ndze. The *lab rtse* is renewed by raising new *dar lcog*. All villagers stand on the roofs of their houses on the first day of ʼte ndze and offer *bsang* to mountain deities.

Figure Thirty-five.

Family members eat together on the first day of ʼte ndze. This image includes the author (b. 1988, center); his mother, Tshe

'dzin sgrol ma (third from right); his father, Pad ma rgyal mtshan (b. 1964, second from right); his uncle (father's brother), Rdo rje rgyal mtshan (b. 1944, far right); and his three sisters Tshe ring mtsho mo (b. 1990, third from left), Rdo rje dbang mo (b. 1995, second from left), and Ye shes sgrol ma (b. 1992, far left).

Figure Thirty-six.

Male villagers offer *bsang* and *rlung rta* to G.yung drung spun dgu.

Figure Thirty-seven.

These three *lab rtse* are renewed by the village's three hamlets on the first day of *te ndze*. *k^h3 r3* renews the left one, *yə rə* renews the right one, and *ba ɕu ma* renews the middle one.

Figure Thirty-eight.

Male villagers, including village leaders, sit on the side of G.yung drung spun dgu Mountain, discuss rules and regulations during *te ndze*, and drink homemade fruit juice.

Figure Thirty-nine.

Rin chen mtsho (b. 2008) is *p^hə və* during *te ndze* in 2010 and receives cash gifts from relatives.

Figure Forty.

A mdo (b. 1966) breaks in a horse that will race in the *te ndze* horserace.

Figure Forty-one.

Riders offer *bsang* before the race and pray to the mountain deities for protection during the horserace.

Figure Forty-two.

Two riders race from left to right while those performing

stunts ride separately.

Figure Forty-three.

Sangs rgyas (b. 1978) performs a stunt on a running horse, dismounting and remounting it. A bag of gunpowder hangs under the three poles in a configuration called *ʔa dza*. Village leaders ignite the gunpowder after the horserace.

Figure Forty-four.

Riders and villagers dance in a big circle after three races, while the horses rest during the third day of *te ndze*. All male and female dancers stand in order of age from eldest to youngest. Youth wear their best clothes and jewelry. All dancers follow two leaders who move clockwise, the direction of Buddhist circumambulation.

Figure Forty-five.

Mtha' phyug (b. 1954) makes a speech before villagers' last dance of the horserace day, naming people who provided cash donations to dancers. He delivers the oration from the center of the circle prior to all villagers dancing the final dance. He offers *dar dkar*⁵⁸ to the two dance leaders.

Figure Forty-six.

The actors on the right perform as Tibetans, while those on the left perform as Han Chinese. They act out a marriage. The man with the microphone asks the Han Chinese, "Who is the bride?"

Figure Forty-seven.

Bla ma (b. 1975, standing) makes a wedding speech in a mixture of Tibetan and Chinese, which the audience finds

⁵⁸ *Dar dkar* are white silk scarves that symbolize auspiciousness and are usually offered to *bla ma* or guests to show respect.

hilarious.

Figure Forty-eight.

Actors perform disco dances in a way that amuses villagers.

Figure Forty-nine.

Monks make *gtor ma* during the Gto ritual. They each have different tasks. The older monk (right) makes *gtor ma* requiring much detail.

Figure Fifty.

Tshe ring bkra shis (b. 1985) makes *gtor ma* resembling houses, deities, food, and animals as offerings to the deities. *Gtor ma* are made with a carved wood mold locally known as *glu shing*. Deities, wild animals, tools, and people are carved on the mold used to make the *gtor ma*.

Figure Fifty-one.

All *gtor ma* are ready to be offered to deities during Gto.

Figure Fifty-two.

Myi nag are *gtor ma* believed to remove bad luck and sickness. *Myi nag* translates as 'black person' (*myi*= people, *nag*= black).

Figure Fifty-three.

Monks chant scripture and offer *bsang* to mountain deities on the second day of the Gto Ritual.

Figure Fifty-four.

Logs are slid down a frozen stream originating at a spring.













































































































PART THREE
MARRIAGE

CIRCLE DANCES IN BANG SMAD VILLAGE

Local dance performances are described first in recognition of their key role in marriage celebrations. Circle dances, *skor bro* in Tibetan, are performed during *te ndze* celebrations, at festivals, weddings, parties, and at the end of a long day's communal labor such as when villagers construct buildings. Participants sing and dance in a big circle and may continue from sunrise to sunset. Males line up from oldest to youngest on one side and women do the same on the other side. Each group has a leader, usually an older person who knows the song lyrics and is a skilled dancer.

The males begin by singing a verse consisting of vocables and do not dance. Female participants repeat the males' song. Next, all male dancers dance in place while singing. When they finish, the males move several steps in a clockwise direction. The females repeat. This continues until two to four verses of a song have been completed. Women begin the next round of dancing that is essentially the same as the process just described. A third round begun by the males completes the dancing.

Participants stand in two lines in a big circle and step from left to right. Men and women wear long-sleeved robes. Men's long-sleeved clothes are white or orange, while women's clothes are white or red. Each group of men and women has two lead dancers. There is no specific number of performers. Dances are usually performed in fields or in the kitchen on the second floor of a house. To lead the dancers requires great skill at dancing and singing. The leaders are called *bro mgo* 'dance head' in Tibetan. Dance leaders say the lyrics to the dancer next to them who repeats the lyrics to the next person, and so on. Some younger dancers do not know the lyrics and just follow the dance movements.

Dance tempos are divided into slow, medium, and quick rhythms. Performers wave their sleeves to resemble eagles spreading their wings throughout the dances. Men's

movements should be expressive, whereas women's movements should be subdued. Sometimes the dancers dance hand in hand while singing. Each dance has different movements.

Village leaders now put candy and fruit juice in the center of the circle, but before the new community rules were made, highland barley liquor and beer were also put in the center.⁵⁹ When one side is dancing, one of the village leaders offers barley liquor to men, fruit juice to women, and gives candy to children.

The dance songs' lyrics praise people, places, and local religion, and the vocal rhythm is associated with various movements. Some older dance songs have fixed lyrics, rhythms, and movements. Certain dance songs use the same rhythm but different lyrics.

Dancing always concludes with a song called *Bkra shis rgyas*. There are two *Bkra shis rgyas* songs: *Bkra shis che ba* 'Long *bkra shis*' and *Bkra shis chung ba* 'Short *bkra shis*'. *Bkra shis che ba* is danced at the end of a wedding, *le ndze*, and at the conclusion of celebrations that last several days. *Bkra shis chung ba* is danced at the end of a day or night of dancing.

Dance competitions or *gtugs bro* are common at gatherings. Participants may dance the whole night and day. Women and men form two lines with five or six performers per line and stand in a circle. There is no certain number of people required. If there are not enough men or women, women and men may form a line together. Then the dancing begins. Song lyrics are never repeated when dancing *gtugs bro*. The two leaders must be gifted at both dancing and singing.

⁵⁹ In the following description, weddings are described as they took place when liquor was still an integral part of such celebrations.

MARRIAGE – INTRODUCTION

Marriage brings a new member into a household and the village community, and expands local social networks by creating new bonds between two families.

Arranged marriages are the most common marriage form, and are planned by parents or matchmakers as early as infancy, a practice called *tɕuw nbə k^ha tsu*. Some families may arrange marriage for unborn children. A mediator may arrange a marriage between two families who are in conflict to ensure peace between them.

Non-arranged marriages are rare. Two youths, having fallen in love, may elope and hide outside the village for several months, during which time the girl may become pregnant. The couple may be found by family members who search for them, or they may choose to return. After this period of cohabitation, the parents may allow the couple to marry or may continue to object, especially if there is a large disparity in the social status of the two families or if one of the young lovers has a pre-existing arranged marriage. The two families might also arrange a marriage between the young lovers.

Five Bang smad households practice polyandry. Each family has two brothers that share one wife. Children in such families call the elder brother *a pa* 'father' and the younger brother *a kə* 'uncle' regardless of paternity. One family practices polygamy with two sisters sharing one husband. One sister remains in the pasture with the family's livestock and the other lives in the village home to tend the family's fields. The husband alternates between the two households. Villagers view such arrangements favorably for they suggest solidarity and intimacy between siblings.

Villagers marry between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. A family may ask their child to marry at the age of eighteen or twenty because they need a laborer. In such cases, two students may marry, with the boy continuing his

education while his wife quits school to help his family. If a parent passes away, the family may need a young laborer and thus may ask their child to marry.

Weddings are held during the New Year or soon afterward because villagers are at home during this time, are relatively free, and have prepared food for New Year that can also be used for the wedding. Weddings typically lasted three days until about the year 2000. Two-day weddings were typical in 2010, with the wedding process and activities becoming increasingly simplified.

An endogamous wedding between two Bang smad families may be very simple, taking one or two days. A few families hold no formal wedding. Instead, they ask a *bla ma* to choose a date for the bride to go to the groom's home. She may carry a bucket of water to the groom's home and then permanently live in the home. Such a wedding is called *ja ŋa buw muw* 'farming tool bride'.

Wedding speeches are a critical part of marriage rituals. A guest who returns home from a wedding is typically asked, "How were the wedding speeches?" Orators must praise both families equally and at length. A good orator can do so without repetition. A poor orator may be unable to orate for long, or may praise the families unevenly, lauding one family, for example, and forgetting the other. Two Bang smad men are skilled wedding orators. Bstan 'dzin gives wedding speeches and is locally known as an adept mediator and matchmaker. He gives speeches in many local villages and also knows numerous proverbs. Mtha' phyug is also well known locally as a gifted orator, especially for giving the speech at the conclusion of village circle dancing during the New Year. He knows many folktales and is so eloquent and loquacious that he is locally called 'Television'.

Every wedding requires both the bride's and groom's families to have an orator. If they cannot find a relative to orate, they invite orators from other villages.

Marriage Patterns

The wives in fifteen of the thirty-six families in Bang smad Village are from other villages. Five families have exogamous wives from four Mi nyag-speaking villages and the other ten have wives from Nyag skad-speaking villages. Twenty-one families have wives from within the village. Four daughters in two families have married Han Chinese men. Twenty people – fourteen women and six men – married into four different Nyag skad-speaking townships and eleven Nyag skad-speaking villages, as well as eight Mi nyag-speaking villages.

ARRANGED MARRIAGES

Choosing a Spouse

Arranged marriages are usually decided upon by parents or a matchmaker, who may be an uncle, aunt, brother-in-law, sister-in-law, a mediator, or a close family friend. The matchmaker is generally male, though they may be female.

Marriages are arranged under various circumstances. A matchmaker may think their relatives' child, having reached twenty to twenty-five years of age, should marry to expand the family's social network. Two old friends may decide that their grandchildren should marry as a mark of their friendship. As mentioned earlier, a parent may pass away, and then the family needs a young woman to milk livestock and cook, or a young man to do such work as plowing. In other cases, a matchmaker or a youth's parents may discover that two youths are in love and then arrange their marriage. Finally, sometimes after mediators settle a dispute between two families, a matchmaker may make an arranged marriage between the two families to ensure continued harmony.

The matchmaker's criteria for choosing a suitable couple includes the social status of the two families. Villagers esteem those with government jobs and lineages including *bla ma* or *sprul sku* 'Living Buddha' and *mda' dpon* or *stongs dpon* 'traditional leaders' (described above).

Wealth and social influence are also important. It is particularly good to marry children into a large family with many descendants and an extensive social network. Such families have a larger labor force and greater influence in village affairs.

Family name is an important consideration. Certain indigenous families have their own *də nmi* 'family name'. Such families are esteemed whereas more recent migrants lacking family names are less respected.

A family's health history is also considered. Partners are reluctantly chosen from families whose current members or ancestors are known to have or have had epilepsy or leprosy. Laziness and being short-tempered are thought to be transmitted from mother to daughter; thus a woman with such characteristics has difficulty finding a partner for her daughter.

A matchmaker who finds a partner meeting these criteria asks both families about a marriage. Parents refuse the matchmaker's requests if they have other aspirations for their son,⁶⁰ but generally accept if they do not. After accepting, the parents generally ask their child. If the child approves, the marriage proceeds. If not, the matchmaker cannot force the marriage. In certain cases, parents do not ask their children but simply make the decision themselves.

After the matchmaker receives approval from both sets of parents and the couple, they conclude the marriage

⁶⁰ Marriage negotiations are typically initiated by the boy's family. Brides typically marry and move into their husband's home.

agreement, though the marriage is not announced until one or two months later.

Account

Ga krug and Sgrol ma decided to arrange a marriage between Rnga ru ma's son, A tshe, and the qaw luw family's daughter, Nang ga. Sgrol ma is Rnga ru ma's brother's daughter. Sgrol ma's husband, Ga krug, asked his older brother, Bstan 'dzin, "What would you think if one of the qaw luw family's' daughters married Rnga ru ma's son?"

He replied, "I don't know, but I'll find out." One of Bstan 'dzin's daughters had married into the qaw luw family and another of his daughters was her close friend. Also, Bstan 'dzin's daughter's husband's father had died and Bstan 'dzin was now the family head.

Bstan 'dzin asked his daughter, Bsod nams dpal mo, to discuss the marriage with her friend, Nang ga. When Bsod nams dpal mo asked, Nang ga replied, "I agree to Bstan 'dzin's request." Bstan 'dzin then talked to Rnga ru ma and the two families agreed to the arranged marriage.

Figure Six: The three matchmakers' relationship to the groom

Matchmaker	Relationship to Groom
Bstan 'dzin	Father's brother's daughter's husband's brother
Sgrol ma	Father's brother's daughter
Ga krug	Father's brother's daughter's husband

boŋ wɜ tɕ^hə t^hu 'Discussing Directly'

The parents from both families might discuss and reach an agreement themselves instead of using a matchmaker. The

arrangement, called *boŋ wə tɕʰə tʰu*, is kept secret for one or two months.

tɕʰe mɔɔ tɕʰu poŋ, tɕʰu mɔɔ tɕʰe poŋ 'Exchanging a Wife'

If a betrothed female finds a lover and this is discovered, her parents, the parents of the future groom, or a matchmaker may insist that her younger sister marry in her place. This is known as *tɕʰe mɔɔ tɕʰu poŋ*. If the bride-to-be is exchanged for an elder sister, this is called *tɕʰu mɔɔ tɕʰe poŋ*.

ni or *ɕa sa tɕʰoŋ tʰu* 'An Agreement Party'

One or two months after the marriage has been decided, or sometimes as much as one year later, both families choose an auspicious day to hold *ni*, 'the agreement party'. The groom's uncle, brother, and brother-in-law, as well as the groom himself, bring a yak haunch, barley liquor, and fruit juice to the bride's home. The bride's family may ask two youths to visit each household and invite their relatives to the party. Most families send one or two representatives to the party, while relatives may send their entire family. Approximately thirty people attend the party where everyone drinks together and jokes. One relative or matchmaker from the groom's side makes a speech in Mi nyag.

The next day, a bride's side representative makes a speech in Mi nyag to all the guests, introducing the matchmakers and praising the bride and groom's families. They might say, for example (Bstan 'dzin):

O ya! Everyone, I will give a short talk! Yesterday, Stobs Idan already gave a speech. Such parties as this have been held for many generations – this is our custom. Thus, I must give a speech. I do not have much to say. The qaw

luw Family is one of the Chos skyong dud mgo dgu, one of the loyal aids of the t̥aw won Family. If they were deer in the old days, there now remains deer hair, because the Chinese government implemented laws and destroyed the high and helped the low. If I tell more about the history of this family, many youths would not understand, although some elders might. The groom's family is, in their village, like eyes on a *mdzo's* head. All relatives and friends are here. Stobs Idan and I arranged this marriage. In some other places they traditionally give a dowry at this time, but we did not prepare one. However, we will do something like this: if I speak in front of people, people will listen. If I put meat in front of people, they will eat. In the end, we hope the boy, A tshe, and the girl, Nang ga, have a happy life and have children.

At the end of the party, the bride's parents or uncles ask one of the bride's brothers and the groom to swear *gnyen mna'*, an oath that they will not break the arranged marriage. If the bride lacks brothers, her father may take the oath. This oath, however, is no longer a common feature of the agreement party.

Additionally, certain families fix a wedding date during the party, depending on the family's need for labor. If a family has enough members, they may wait several years to make the decision, especially if the betrothed are relatively young. Males never marry nineteen year old females, because this brings misfortune to the male's family. A female's family never lets a woman who is twenty years old marry into other homes, believing she will take her natal family's good fortune to her new home.

Guests drink and eat until the middle of the night after a decision has been reached. At this party, villagers of

the *ts^hɔ ʒə pɔ*⁶¹ historically gave a dowry, which the groom's family took when they left.

Before the Wedding

The betrothed begin cohabitating after parents and relatives fix a wedding date. Alternatively, if one or both of the betrothed have a lover they wish to marry instead, they may go to another county for several months and cohabit. Both families search for them. They invite three or four mediators if they cannot locate them, and the family whose child eloped with their lover must pay at least 5,000 RMB in compensation to salvage the other family's reputation. Not honoring a marriage agreement is a serious loss of face.

The families jointly consult a *bla ma*⁶² to choose a propitious date for the wedding, which is usually during or after the New Year. The two families agree on how many people and cars will escort the bride. The *bla ma* is also asked to decide who should help the bride pour water when she washes her hair. Two or three older women are chosen to help the bride braid her hair, as are *bag rogs* 'the bride's helpers'.⁶³ The *bla ma*'s decisions are based on zodiac signs.

⁶¹ *ts^hɔ ʒə pɔ* refers collectively to four villages (gɔŋ kɜ, ri na, pɜ lɛ, and, ɬɔŋ ɬi) in Bang smad Township.

⁶² *Bla ma* from Rnga rkang and Mtsho kha monasteries are typically asked.

⁶³ These helpers assist the bride by preparing her meals and helping her dress.

The Groom's Preparation

The groom's family spends about a month preparing for the wedding. They ask relatives or villagers who own cars to use their cars to greet the bride and her entourage. The family also slaughters a yak. Rich families may slaughter two or three yaks. Male family members go to the county town and purchase liquor, beer, candy, vegetables, and sunflower seeds. Wealthy families may spend 20,000 RMB while poor families spend 2,000 to 3,000 RMB.

About a week prior to the wedding, the groom's family asks close relatives and friends in other villages to invite relatives and friends to the wedding. Two or three days before the wedding, the groom's family asks female villagers to make many *buw muw dzə nɯ*⁶⁴ and *dzə cə*, while others clean the groom's home and prepare food. Kitchen utensils and clothing are also borrowed from villagers.

The groom's family chooses four or five relatives or local elders to be *na pu* 'property managers',⁶⁵ and asks a *bla ma* or *rtsis pa* to choose a *bag rogs*.

The groom's family asks a person from each household to come to the groom's home the day before the wedding. Barley liquor, beer, and dinner are offered to everyone. The groom's father asks all villagers to help, and the *s^{hə} pu* and *las byed* assist in organizing the wedding party by telling people to stop work and send at least one person per household to help the groom's family.

The groom's family invites three or four monks to chant and holds G.yang sgrub. The monks stay at the groom's home until the wedding finishes.

⁶⁴ *buw muw dzə nɯ* refers to triangular-shaped food made from wheat flour eaten in daily life. It is smaller than *dzə nɯ*.

⁶⁵ *na pu* are responsible for the financial management of the wedding. Funerals also require *na pu*.

The Bride's Preparation

The bride's family also spends about a month preparing for the wedding. They buy boxes of liquor, beer, fruit juice, candies, seeds, vegetables, and meat. Some wealthy families slaughter two or three yaks. The house, cushions, tables, and so on are cleaned. The bride's family borrows such ornaments as *ŋi pu*, *ʃe rna*, *dzuw*, *p^he p^he*, *ʃe cuw t^huw*, *ʃe fiʒ ju*, *dɔ ʋi*, *ʒɜ goŋ*, *tɕ^ha ma*, *paw ku*, *la lu*, and *ra tuw* from relatives and villagers.⁶⁶ The family then asks relatives to discuss who will accompany the bride in her entourage, usually comprised of eight to ten brothers, uncles, and other close male relatives. The bride's family asks these people to prepare ornaments, which they may need to borrow from relatives, and to discuss who will make speeches at the party. The bride's family also asks five or six families who own cars to escort the bride. Prior to the year 2000, the bride's escort consisted of five or six people mounted on horses.

The bride rises and washes her hair after sunrise on the day before the wedding. A girl chosen by a *bla ma* or *rtsis pa* pours water on the bride's hair. Her hair is then put into many braids.⁶⁷ Some brides cry while their hair is being washed, in which case older women console them saying, "Don't cry, the (groom's) village is very near your village. Your groom is a good person. You have parents, you should be happy."

⁶⁶ Photographs of these ornaments are featured in Part Four.

⁶⁷ When a bride is washing her hair it must be a sunny day, suggesting a successful marriage. If the weather is bad – snowing or windy – villagers believe that the bride's future with her partner is bad. For example, if it is snowing, the bride leaves black footprints when she leaves her home, which is *ɕi naw* 'black print'. If the bride stays at the groom's home and it is snowing (*ɕi gaw*) it suggests they will have a successful marriage.

The Day Before the Wedding: *soŋ wu də* 'A Party at the Bride's House'

The bride's family holds a party the night before she leaves home. All her relatives and some villagers come to her home and help prepare food and clean the house. In the afternoon, the bride's family sends a person to every village household, especially the bride's peers, to invite them to the party. Most families send someone to the party, though all household members may come if they are close relatives of the bride.

Male villagers sit from oldest to youngest on the *χɔ ʃɛ*. A table covered with bottles of beer, barley liquor, and fruit juice, candy, sunflower seeds, cold dishes,⁶⁸ and *dzɔ cə* is in front of the *χɔ ʃɛ*. Female villagers sit by the stove and the bride's family provides fruit juice, sunflower seeds, and candy for them.

s^hɜ pu help the bride's family organize this party and invite people to dance and sing. The youths dance modern Tibetan dances in a big circle in the living room for around two hours while other guests watch and drink. Then adult men and women dance traditional dances for five or six hours, with some youths joining later. Other youths only watch. Meanwhile, some young male helpers encourage guests to drink barley liquor.

The bride does not participate in these dances. She stays in her room with her helper and friends, weeping. Women serve a supper of rice or noodle porridge because it can easily feed many people. The bride, clad in a new Tibetan robe, sits by the central pillar of the house after supper. The *a ɣɔ* stands in front of the bride holding a *dar dkar*, blesses her with a speech, and gives her a *dar dkar* and

⁶⁸ This might include cut up cucumbers seasoned with chili and salt; fried or boiled peanuts; cold, seasoned noodles; seasoned seaweed; mushrooms prepared in various ways; chicken; tinned meat; pork chunks; and so on.

100 to 300 RMB. All the villagers then give blessings in turn, for example, "*x^{hə} bə deŋ moŋ ts^{hə} ri nɛ me, bə ʃə ts^{hə} s^{hə}ŋ dzam*. May you have a happy life, and a wonderful family."

After the money is given, women and men dance traditional dances for about two hours. Village leaders then ask some people to sing folk songs. Elders sing from their seats and sometimes two people sing in unison. Young villagers stand by the room's central pillar to sing. Some young females sing folk songs from their seats. Students sing modern Chinese songs and Tibetan songs, and then youths perform such dances as *sko bro* and disco. Adults leave at around midnight and only youths remain. The bride dances with them until her parents ask her to go to bed. The youths then dance modern Tibetan and Chinese dances until morning.

x^{hə} ʌ qa tɕ^{hə} x^{hə} 'Go Scatter Barley Grain'

This ritual was done in the past but is no longer performed. The groom's family sent someone to scatter barley grain when the bride left her home for the groom's home. This man accompanied the bride and her entourage to the groom's home and stayed there for three days. After arriving at the bride's home, he gave about ten RMB to the bride's mother as *sə mi tɕ^{hə}ŋ qa s^{hə} 'fee for separating mother and daughter'* and ten RMB to the woman who braided the bride's hair. He scattered barley grain to the sky before the bride left her home and said:

¹ཉི་མ་དེ་རིང་ཕན་ཆན་ང་ཚང་ཡིན། ཁང་སྡིང་བསང་ཁང་མན་ཆན། སྒོ་ཁ་བྱི་སྒོ་ཡན་
ཆན། སྡིན་མཁན་སྡིན་ཐག་ཚད་པ་ཡིན། ཟ་མཁན་ཟ་ཐག་ཚད་པ་ཡིན། བྱ་
རྒྱུ་ཆ་གསུམ་འཛོམས། ཆ་ཨ་ཁང་མདོ་ལུ་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ཡིན།

¹From today on you (the bride) own our property totally⁶⁹ to give away or use as you decide. May you have great sons and daughters in our home.

Some women from the bride's family snatched the man's hat, pulled off his shoes, pushed him, and said, "You will take away our girl." These women then hid his hat and shoes. Some of the bride's relatives helped him persuade the women to return what they took. He needed to give fifteen or twenty RMB to the group of women to retrieve his hat and shoes.

As mentioned above, weddings have been simplified and shortened. Below, we give schedules for three- and four-day weddings:

⁶⁹ Literally, from the *bsang khang* to the dog's bowl, indicating the household in its entirety.

Figure Seven: Wedding Schedule for a Four-Day⁷⁰ Wedding

Time	Activity	Site
First day	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ bride leaves her parents' home escorted by her entourage ▪ villagers dance enroute ▪ a speech is made by bride's side representative ▪ groom's side greets bride's side and bride's side representative makes a speech ▪ a short speech is given upon arrival at groom's home by bride's side representative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ bride's home ▪ enroute to groom's home ▪ about a kilometer from bride's village ▪ about a kilometer from groom's village ▪ groom's home
Second day	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ relatives of the bride and groom visit groom's home ▪ bride's side and groom's side make speeches ▪ villagers dance at groom's home ▪ guests give gifts to groom's family ▪ bride, her entourage, and groom are invited by all households in groom's village 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ groom's home

⁷⁰ Locally, residents say two nights and three days (three-day wedding) or three nights and four days (four-day wedding).

Third day	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ villagers dance ▪ G.yang sgrub is held ▪ relatives of bride and groom visit groom's home ▪ villagers have a party with money given by bride's side 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ groom's home
Fourth day	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ groom's family gives gifts to bride and her entourage ▪ bride and her entourage leave groom's home to return to bride's home ▪ villagers and bride's side dance ▪ a speech is given by bride's side representative enroute to bride's home; groom's side escorts bride 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ groom's home ▪ enroute to bride's home

Figure Eight: Wedding Schedule for a Three-Day Wedding

Time	Activity	Site
First day	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ bride leaves her parents' home ▪ villagers dance on the way ▪ a speech is made by bride's side representative ▪ groom's side greets bride's side and bride's side representative made a speech. ▪ a short speech is given upon arrival at groom's home by bride's side representative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ bride's home ▪ enroute to groom's home ▪ about a kilometer from bride's home ▪ about a kilometer from groom's village ▪ groom's home
Second day	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ relatives of bride and groom visit groom's home ▪ villagers dance ▪ a speech is given by bride's side and groom's side representative ▪ guests give gifts to groom's family ▪ bride, her entourage, and groom are invited by all households in groom's village ▪ G.yang sgrub ritual is held 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ groom's home

Third day	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ villagers dance ▪ groom's family gives gifts to bride and her entourage ▪ groom's villagers and bride's side dance ▪ groom's side escorts bride's side ▪ speech by bride's side representative enroute to bride's home 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ groom's home ▪ about a kilometer from the groom's village
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A three day wedding is assumed in the normalized description that follows and, where necessary, certain speeches and other activities are noted that might relate to the more traditional four-day wedding.

The First Day: Sending the Bride

The bride's mother and some villagers help the bride dress at five or six a.m. She puts on such ornaments as *ŋi pu*, *še ma*, *dzuw*, *p^he p^he*, *še cuw t^huw*, *še fiɜ ju*, *dɔ ki*, *zɜ gon*, *tɕ^ha ma*, *paw ku*, *la lu*, and *ra tuw* in her bedroom. Her entourage, wearing many ornaments, comes to her home. After she finishes dressing, she and her entourage prepare to leave at a time previously stipulated by a *bla ma*. They take about ten kilograms of barley liquor, a yak leg, and some candy as gifts for the groom's family. They come to the living room before they leave and the father says such beatific words as, "*x^hə poŋ de mə*, *ts^hɜ ri nɛ me*. We hope you will have a wonderful new family," and puts a *dar dkar* around her neck. He then leads his daughter to circumambulate the central pillar, goddess⁷¹ of the house, three times to prevent the bride's family's *g.yang* from leaving with the bride. At this time, most village households send a representative and all the bride's relatives come to accompany the bride's entourage to a point about two kilometers from the village.

Those escorting the bride cannot say goodbye, and when the bride reaches the groom's home, people cannot give a greeting; both are bad luck for the bride. Those who have assembled follow her from the courtyard gate to a waiting car. Many women and the bride's relatives cry. Close male relatives may also weep. Parents never send their

⁷¹ Villagers believe that the goddess lives in the central pillar of their home and put *dar dkar* on this pillar after building a house.

daughter off because this is bad luck for her.

When the bride leaves her home, youths collect stones in piles, and place full buckets of water and cushions by the road.⁷² This is called *buw muw la tse*. Villagers wait near the *buw muw la tse* they have constructed and when the bride's car passes by, two of the bride's entourage scatter one or five RMB notes and candy from the car window.⁷³ If residents from other villages know the bride and her entourage will pass by, they may also make *buw muw la tse* and stand by the road.

If villagers send a bride to the north from Bang smad, the bride and her entourage stop at a site called *gə nda mu* for an hour. If villagers send a bride south of Bang smad they stop at *tʰoŋ ɰə poŋ*. The *a ɣə* bride, and her entourage sit in a line while about ten villagers perform the *ɣi dzə* 'sending dance' in a large circle.

After they finish dancing, one of the entourage gives a speech and gives about fifty RMB to the dancers as *dzə te*, and then the bride and her entourage leave. Nowadays, some families no longer do this.

The First Day: Greeting the Bride

Meanwhile, on the same morning as when the bride leaves her house, the groom's family asks two close relatives to go to each household to invite villagers to the groom's home.

⁷² It is bad luck for the bride to see people carrying empty buckets while enroute to the groom's home. It is very good if she sees people carrying full buckets or carrying a fire, e.g., carrying coals or embers from another home in a metal bucket to their own home to make a fire in the absence of matches.

⁷³ Certain people may fall seriously ill if they encounter the bride enroute to the groom's home. This is called *baw na ji*.

About twenty adult villagers and relatives drive five or six cars to a point approximately two kilometers from their village to greet the bride. They prepare barley liquor, beer, and fruit juice, and put cushions in a line on the ground. When the bride arrives, greeters lay out a piece of white felt with a *g.yung drung*⁷⁴ 'swastika' by her door before she steps out of the car. The groom's side's *bag rung* helps the bride. If her ornaments are too heavy, the *bag rung* holds her hand and ornaments as she steps out of the car and onto the white felt.

The bride and her entourage walk to the prepared area and sit in a line in the following order (left to right): a *yo*, bride, bride's helper, and the remaining entourage. Greeters provide barley liquor and beer for the *a yo* and the bride's entourage, and fruit juice for the bride and her helper. The greeters dance in a big circle once and drink barley liquor with the entourage for about an hour. The bride's side gives a speech after they finish dancing, after which the bride's side's cars and the groom's side's cars leave together for the groom's home.

The groom never comes out to welcome the bride when she reaches his home because this is considered embarrassing. This reflects the general discretion between husband and wife. After a family arranges a marriage, the youth feels embarrassed if someone says their future spouse's name in their presence. Once married, the young husband and wife do not talk to each other in front of other family members for one or two months and they might not sleep together for a few months. In 2010, some new couples sleep together after they marry in a small room in the home.

Some households in Nyag rong make *bsang* when the bride, her entourage, and the groom's side reach the groom's

⁷⁴ The *g.yung drung* is made with grain and at other times, with black yak hair permanently pressed into the felt.

home and may also hold a *khrus* ritual.⁷⁵ This ritual and making *bsang* may upset the bride's side, because it suggests that the groom's family has a higher position than the bride's family. At the groom's home, the bride circles a full bucket of water containing a sprig of juniper that stands before the door. An *a yɔ* then takes the juniper sprig from the bucket and sprinkles water three times on the bride's head to purify her. The bride then passes through the gate. At that time, a person ten to twenty years old with a zodiac sign compatible with the bride's, chosen by a *bla ma* or *rtsis pa*, stands to the right of the gate holding a silver ladle and a wood bowl lined with silver containing milk. The bride performs a *mchod*, aspersing the milk three times with the silver ladle in her right hand, and then sips from the bowl three times after entering the gate. The *a yɔ* scatter one or five RMB notes and candies to the crowd outside the groom's home and onlookers scurry to collect them.

The bride and her entourage then go upstairs to the living room. At this time, one of the groom's relatives takes the *dar dkar* given by her father from the bride and puts a new *dar dkar* around her neck. He then puts the bride's father's *dar dkar* around the room's central pillar. The bride's helper holds the bride's hand and they circumambulate the central pillar three times. Next, the bride and her entourage sit on the *χɔ ʃɛ* in the order (left to right) of *a yɔ*, bride, bride's helper, and other entourage members. The bride sits on white felt featuring a *g.yung drung*. *Phye mar* is placed before the bride.⁷⁶ A table covered with sunflower seeds, candy, beer, liquor, and fruit juice is placed in front of the bride and her entourage. Helpers offer them food and drink.

⁷⁵ A monk or *bla ma* chants and sprinkles water to purify polluted people and such things as clothes and food.

⁷⁶ *Phye mar* is considered auspicious and is made of *rtsam pa* and butter (see photographs).

The First Day: *tɕi k^hɔ̌ su*

After the bride and her entourage finish eating, a bride's side orator stands beside the central pillar of the main room, gives a short speech, and puts a *dar dkar* on the central pillar.

The bride watches villagers' traditional dances for one to two hours in the living room. Then helpers ask the bride and her entourage to go to a prepared room, where the bride's ornaments are removed and put in a wood box that is placed beside an elder such as her *a* ɣɔ. They then relax, sing together, and joke. The groom's family makes much good food for them such as dumplings, rice, and cold dishes. Meanwhile, all the villagers dance and sing together in the living room until morning. In the recent past, however, the process was more complex: after watching the dancing for some time, speeches were also given by orators from both the bride's and groom's sides. Only one such speech was given by an orator from the bride's side in 2010. Traditionally, speeches and dances continued until the next morning, but presently the bride and her entourage sleep in the room prepared for them.

A Party on the Second Day: *rtɛ tɕɛ*

The next day, many guests from such villages as *va rə*, *la k^hu*, *də t^haw*, *ɕa di*, *la ɣə*, *ɣdzɜ won tɛ ba*, *ɣdzɜ won mɛ ba*, *rɲa koŋ*, *k^ha loŋ*, *boŋ mi*, *goŋ kɜ*, *ri na*, *pɜ lɛ*, and *koŋ ɬi* visit. The groom's family asks their relatives to help house the guests. The *na pu* decide where guests should stay and which helpers should go to designated homes. Helpers accompany and serve the guests all day. Guests reach the groom's home at ten or eleven a.m. on motorcycles and in cars. Village helpers greet them when they arrive, help carry any bags or boxes they have brought, and once the guests are inside, they pour tea and urge them to eat. Guests stay at the groom's

home for one to two hours, and then helpers ask them to go to the other prepared homes. Some villagers stay at the groom's home and dance all day.

The guests, villagers, and the bride's entourage gather in the groom's family's living room at noon. Some villagers perform traditional dances in a circle around the home's central pillar for three or four hours and the groom's relatives ask the bride's side to watch. The groom wears his best clothes and such ornaments as *še cuw t^huw*, *še fiɜ ju*, *dɔ ɓi*, *ʒɜ goŋ*, *paw ku*, *ra tuw*, and *qa vɜ*.⁷⁷ The groom's relatives encourage the bride and groom to dance with villagers. The groom stands next to the leader of the male dancers and the bride stands next to the female dance leader.

They dance for about twenty minutes and then an orator gives a speech. The orator is typically the bride's *a ɣɔ*, but may be anyone gifted at speechmaking. The speech lasts fifteen to twenty minutes. It begins by describing the creation of the world and then moves on to praising local places, including famous mountains, rivers, and grasslands; local history and leaders; village houses and fields; both the groom and bride's families; and finally praises the *dar dkar*. The orator gives *dar dkar* to the bride and groom after he finishes his speech. He also gives *dar dkar* to the two lead dancers, and gives 100 to 200 RMB to dancers as *dʒɔ te*. After the speech, villagers and guests dance and sing.

Two orators representing the two families made speeches in 2002. The orator from the groom's family spoke first, followed by the orator from the bride's side. This was no longer done in 2010.

In the afternoon, guests from other villages give gifts to the groom's family one by one. The groom's family asks someone who can write Tibetan or Chinese to record a short description of the gifts and who gave them. Some guests bring five to ten kilograms of barley liquor or fifty to 300

⁷⁷ See the photographs after Part Four.

RMB, while others bring fifteen to thirty kilograms of barley or wheat grain as gifts. After the guests finish presenting gifts to the groom's family, a member or relative of the groom's family thanks the guests for coming. The groom's family then gives gifts to each guest; a piece of meat, a loaf of bread, candy, and three or four *buw muw dzə nɥ*.

Figure Nine: Gifts given in 2006 at Tshe dbang dpal 'byor and Bsod nams dpal mo's wedding.

Family	Cash RMB	Barley (kgs)	Grain (kgs)
'Chi med	30		
A bzang			30
A g.yang	100		
A hung	100		
A tshe			25
Blo gros	50		
Bsod nams dar rgyas	50		
Bsod nams dpal mo		20	
Bsod nams rdo rje			30
Bsod nams tshe ring		20	
Bzang po		25	
Dbang ldan		15	
Gra ling	200		
Mtha' phyug	50		
Nyi ma 'od zer		20	
Nyi ma tshe ring	200		
O rgyan			20
O rgyan dbang phyug		25	
O rgyan tshe ring	100		

Pad ma rgyal mtshan	200		
Pad rdor		20	
Rdo rje	30		
Sangs rgyas	100		
Sha phrug	30		
Skar bzang rgyal mtshan	50		
Tshe dbang 'gyur med			30
Tshe dbang rgyal mtshan		25	
Tshe ring		20	
Tshe thar		20	
Tshul khrims bzang po	100		

The groom's family provides a bowl of melted butter with rice and cold dishes with boiled rice for all the guests at about five p.m. After eating, some guests and relatives from far away stay at the groom's home or at other homes. Helpers escort guests as they leave, carrying their bags and gifts consisting of bottles of barley liquor, beer, or fruit juice to drink on the way; this is called *lam rag*. Guests finish the *lam rag* together before arrivgin home. At certain weddings, the bride, her entourage, and the groom are invited to visit all the households in the groom's village.

Third Day: G.yang sgrub

The groom's family holds the G.yang sgrub ritual during the wedding. On the second or third day of the wedding, the bride and groom are decorated with many ornaments and come together to the family shrine where several monks and *bla ma* have been chanting since the first day of the wedding. Monks chant for about half an hour in front of the bride and groom, who each hold a *g.yang mda'*. After the chanting finishes, a monk draws a line using wheat flour on the

ground from near the bride and groom to outside the shrine. Then a helper brings smoldering juniper and leads the bride and groom, each carrying a *g.yang mda'*, to the *zɔ* on the second floor of the house. Once in the *zɔ*, the groom's parents help the bride and groom take the *g.yang mda'* and place it on a table, thus introducing the family's *g.yang* to the new couple.⁷⁸

The Third Day at the Groom's Home: '*buw biŋ tɕʰə*' 'Giving Gifts to the Bride and her Entourage'

The bride and her entourage stay at the groom's home for three days. A relative of the groom makes a short speech while displaying *buw biŋ*⁷⁹ on the last day of the wedding party. The groom's family gives gifts to the bride, bride's brothers, a *yɔ*, and other entourage members. Sometimes the dancers from the groom's village then hold a small party with the money given to them as a reward by the bride's entourage.

At four or five p.m., the groom's family gives bottles of liquor, a yak leg, and *buw muw dzɔ nɕ* to the bride's entourage, after which the bride's relatives prepare to leave. Many villagers and relatives walk with them several meters from the home and villagers dance together. An orator makes a speech and gives 100 to 200 RMB to dancers as *dzɔ te*, then the entourage dances with the villagers. Afterwards they leave for the bride's home. Three or four of the groom's

⁷⁸ The groom's family puts the *g.yang mda'* in the *zɔ* and the *bla ma* then closes the *zɔ* after chanting scriptures for the *g.yang*. The family must not open the *zɔ* for three days, otherwise they believe they will lose their *g.yang*.

⁷⁹ *buw biŋ* are gifts for the bride and her entourage.

relatives go with bride for *buw juw*,⁸⁰ and stay at the bride's home for one or two days.

Account

A mchun married into the Dgo mchun Family in 2009. The Dgo mchun Family gave five silver coins to the bride to make a ring for her, a horse to the bride's brother, 500 RMB to the *a yɔ*, and 300 RMB to each of the other members of the bride's entourage as *buw biŋ*.

buw be

buw be occurs after the wedding when the bride stays for three or four days in the groom's home. She does not leave with her entourage, but remains in the groom's home and begins helping with family work. *buw be* is uncommon in Bang smad Village.

The Evening of the Third Day in the Bride's Home

The bride's family invites all their relatives and villagers to a party after the bride and her entourage return home. Almost every home sends a representative. Youths dance and sing all night. The bride removes her ornaments and dances with the young villagers. Each household sends a person to the bride's home with gifts. They drink barley liquor and make jokes. An orator gives a speech, then representatives from each household take turns presenting gifts of barley liquor,

⁸⁰ *buw juw* is held after the wedding. Three or four of the groom's relatives go with the bride and stay at her home for one or two days. The bride returns to the groom's home one or two months after the wedding is held.

money, and twenty kilograms of barley or wheat grain, though now people commonly give cash. Such close relatives as uncles and aunts give 100 to 300 RMB, while unrelated villagers may give twenty to fifty RMB. A literate person records all gifts. After receiving gifts, the bride's family gives gifts to each villager: a piece of meat, a loaf of bread, or three or four *buw maw dz3 nɬ*.

buw juw 'The Bride Returns'

The bride returns to the groom's home one or two months after the wedding is held. Her return is called *buw juw*. The interval of time depends on the groom's family, and their need for laborers.

The bride's father typically accompanies her to the groom's home and stays two or three days. They take gifts of about fifteen kilograms of meat and ten kilograms of barley liquor for the groom's family.

Giving the Dowry

Several months or sometimes years after the wedding, depending on the groom's family's request, the bride's family gives *ki vɬ* 'dowry' to the groom's family on a date decided by a *bla ma* consulted by the bride's family. At that time, the bride's family invites such close relatives as uncles and aunts to discuss what should be given. They must give ornaments, livestock, money, fields, and clothes. Wealthy families gave items totaling 100,000 RMB, while poor families gave 10,000 RMB in the early twenty-first century. The groom's family must give cash to the bride's family, totaling half the value of the dowry.

Speeches are given while displaying the dowry. The orator praises the two families and the bride and groom, and

enumerates all the items in the dowry one by one.

Account

A mchun moved into Dgo mchun's home in 2009. A mchun's family gave such ornaments as *še rna*, *dzuw*, *p^he p^he*, *še cuw t^huw*, *še fi3 ju*, *dɔ ki*, *z3 gon*, *tɕ^ha ma*, *paw ku*, *la lu*, and *ra tuw*, Tibetan robes, five Tibetan cushions, kitchen utensils, quilts, a chest, two *mu* of fields, three cows, one horse, and farming tools.

NON-ARRANGED MARRIAGES

If two young people love each other and agree to marry, they may give each other rings or other symbols of their intention to marry. If their families object, the boy or girl asks a friend to help organize a secret meeting. They may later elope to another county town or perhaps as far away as Lha sa, where they stay six months to a year. They return home after the girl becomes pregnant or a child is born. Their families then have little choice but to permit them to marry. Both the girl and boy's sides give buckets, clothes, money, livestock, fields, and jewelry to the couple and may help them build a new house.

If the boy's family has only one son, the new couple lives in his home and does not build a new house. If the girl's family has only one girl and no son, the new couple lives at the girl's home. If the girl and boy both have siblings then the new couple lives neolocally. Such new families are referred to as *lɔ ts^hɔ su*. The families of the bride and groom give them money, clothes, cushions, and farming implements.

If a couple marries against their parents' wishes, they may not be treated very kindly, e.g., the bride's parents might not give her a dowry, nor help the couple when they

have economic difficulties. This new couple would not have a special wedding party; they would only invite relatives and friends to their new house and have a banquet several months after they began living together.

As mentioned earlier, financial compensation is demanded if a family fails to provide the intended spouse in the context of an arranged marriage, as illustrated by the following account:

A sne (b. 1980) loved Sgrol dkar (born 1983). He often visited her brother and stayed in their home. Their love blossomed over time. The girl's family noticed their relationship and did not end it. However, the boy's family did not approve. The couple then eloped to Xinduqiao County,⁸¹ and lived with one of Sgrol dkar's relatives. A sne's relatives searched and seven months later, located them, by which time the girl was pregnant.

A sne had five sisters and no brothers. Sgrol dkar thus came to live in his home, because she had five brothers and two sisters, thus her departure did not cause a labor shortage in her family. The relationship between the two families improved over time.

In another case, Bsod nams dpal mo (b. 1984) and A tshe (b. 1988) eloped from Bang smad Village. Marriage had been arranged for both of them, and both families consequently disagreed with their choice. Members of the two families quickly found and beat them. Both families apologized and gave 3,000 to 4,000 RMB to the families with whom they had previously arranged marriage. After a year, A tshe married his arranged partner, and Bsod nams dpal mo also married her arranged partner.

⁸¹ Xinduqiao County, Dkar mdzes Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province.

ENDOGENOUS VILLAGE WEDDINGS

Before the Wedding

An endogenous village wedding – one in which the two families live in the same village – may be very simple. The two families discuss and hold a simple wedding if both sides agree. The groom's family asks a *bla ma* or *rtsis pa* to choose a wedding date. They spend one to two days in preparation, buying liquor, beer, sunflower seeds, candy, vegetables, and cold dishes.

A Party at the Bride's Home: *soŋ wu dā*

In the afternoon, the bride's family asks older relatives to be *na pu*. Villagers help them manage the wedding party, and ask male villagers to assist guests. Also that afternoon, the bride's family sends members to invite all their relatives and all the villagers to their home for a banquet that evening. Most relatives come and most households send at least one representative. People dance and sing before supper. Afterwards, villagers individually give cash to the bride one by one. Each elder gives a blessing and gives *dar dkar* with cash. Some close relatives may give up to 500 RMB, while young villagers give five to ten RMB. A female friend or relative stands by the bride and records the names of the participants and the amount of money each gives the bride.

A Party at the Groom's Home

The next day the bride, her brother, her uncle, and two or three male relatives go to the groom's home. The bride is decorated with *ŋi pu*, *še rna*, *dzuw*, *p^he p^he*, *še cuw t^huw*, *še hɜ ju*, *dɔ ki*, *ʒɜ goŋ*, *tɕ^ha ma*, *paw ku*, *la lu*, and *ra tuw*.

Others, however, do not decorate themselves with gold and silver; instead they wear new Tibetan robes. The group then walks together to the groom's home. The groom's family invites villagers to their home and hosts a wedding party during which villagers dance and sing together. A relative of the bride gives a speech. At six or seven p.m., the bride's relatives return home. Afterwards, all the villagers give barley liquor, money, and barley or wheat grain to the groom's family, who gives gifts to a person from each household: a piece of meat, a loaf of bread, and three or four *buw maw dz3 nH*. Some elder villagers leave at around midnight while most young villagers dance and sing all night. The bride comes to the groom's home and begins doing housework several days after the wedding.

DIVORCE

After several months or years of marriage, some people divorce because the husband's parents dislike the wife or because the wife treats her parents-in-law badly, e.g., she does not provide good food and is disrespectful. Conflicts between husband and wife may arise. Sometimes the husband's brothers or sisters do not like the new wife, and sometimes the husband drinks and beats his wife. These situations may all result in divorce.

Account

'Chi med rdo rje (b. 1983, gon k3 Village) married Dkon mchog lha mo (b. 1982, Bang smad Village). They divorced five years after the wedding, though they had a child, because the husband was an alcoholic and disliked working. The couple often argued and eventually told their parents they wanted to divorce. Their relatives agreed. After the divorce, Dkon mchog lha mo stayed with her son

at her parents' house, and the husband left and later married another village woman.

Children usually stay with their mother and the husband gives property to his ex-wife. Divorce is considered very shameful – divorced men and women both find it difficult to remarry. This is especially true for women, some of whom stay at their parents' home the remainder of their lives.

Widows

There were six widows, all of whom were grandmothers, in Bang smad Village in 2010. They have retained the same status as before in their family and community, and are respected by their family.

CONCLUSION

Before about 2005, the bride and her entourage stayed in the groom's home for three days, orators made five or six speeches during a wedding party, and villagers danced and sang the whole night and all the next day. Wedding activity was quite different in 2010, with the bride and her entourage staying only one or two days in the groom's home. Bang smad Village had only one man capable of making a complete wedding speech and he generally made only one or two speeches.⁸² Since the implementation of new rules concerning alcohol in 2009, families do not offer liquor to guests but offer fruit juice instead. As a result, dancing finishes at around one or two a.m. on the night of the party

⁸² Another man can make speeches after dancing but he does not make wedding speeches.

and guests then return home. Without liquor, some elders feel bored and do not stay long. Young villagers are disinterested in traditional dancing and singing and prefer to return home and watch television. Some families ask their children to come home early, because they worry about fighting. The bride and her entourage previously rode horses to the groom's home, but now most ride in cars. Wealthy families may organize a convoy of six or more cars to escort the bride and her entourage.

Certain Tibetans in Nyag rong County Town hold wedding parties that last five to six hours in restaurants. Local people describe such wedding parties as a way of collecting money, e.g., a guest not closely related to the bride or groom was expected in 2010 to give fifteen to 500 RMB when attending such weddings.

The weddings described in this book will probably not be performed much longer. They will likely be simplified, because following tradition is viewed as making the wedding process too complex, taking too much time, and requiring too many laborers. Locals prefer to hold wedding parties in restaurants where they need only to pay money and spend a few hours, and where they do not need to contribute labor. Furthermore, only a few families nowadays make arranged marriages because parents no longer prefer such arrangements. Villagers who have attended school graduate and find a job, and seek a partner who is also educated and employed. Though non-arranged marriages have become more common, elders still prefer to arrange marriages. Bstan 'dzin said, "I prefer to arrange marriages for my children, but I think my son won't agree." Rdo rje rgyal mtshan said, "It's better for people to have arranged marriages or a good person might end up married to a bad person. In such a case, the bad always affects the good, and not the other way around."

PART FOUR
SONGS AND SPEECHES

SONGS

These lyrics were sung and recorded in Bang smad Village and ri na Village in 2009 and 2010. A chos, Tshe 'dzin sgrol ma, O rgyan dbang phyug, A lca, O rgyan chos grags (b. 1972), A bzang (b. 1954), Ye shes dbang mo (b. 1967), and A dkar (b. 1958) sang dance songs, competitive dance songs, generic songs that may be sung at any celebratory gathering, and wedding songs.

Dance Songs

The following songs are sung during the New Year period and other celebratory occasions. Each song is summarized.⁸³

The nice, large monastery is located on a grassland. The Buddhas of the Three Ages are like flowers blossoming on the grassland. The monastery is surrounded by thousands of monks.

¹ རྒྱུད་པོ་དགོན་ཆེ་ཁ་མོ་སྤང་རི་ལ་ཁ་ཆགས།

² ལྷ་ལ་ལུས་དུས་གསུམ་སངས་རྒྱས་དེ་སྤང་ལ་མེ་དྲོག་འབྱུངས།

³ ལྷ་ཆང་སྟོང་དང་དགུ་བརྒྱ་དེ་སྤང་རི་མཐའ་ནས་རྒྱས།

⁴ ང་རང་ལོ་རྒྱུད་ཅེད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།⁸⁴

Hundreds of deer are gathered. Gamboling fawns encircle a lake. May we be happy and have good lives.

¹ ཤུ་རྒྱན་འབྱུང་ཆོགས་ཁ་ལ།

⁸³ We were unable to identify all terms in the speeches and songs and have therefore represented the sounds of such terms using the Tibetan syllabary.

⁸⁴ The last line of each dance song ends with a refrain expressing good wishes.

² ཤྲ་བ་བརྒྱ་ཡིས་གང་།
³ ཤྲ་བ་བརྒྱ་ཡིས་གང་ན།
⁴ ཤྲ་ཕུག་ཅིང་མོ་ཅེ།
⁵ ཤྲ་ཕུག་ཅིང་མོ་ཅེ་ན།
⁶ མཚོ་ལ་གཡས་སྒོར་རྒྱག།
⁷ མཚོ་ལ་གཡས་སྒོར་རྒྱག་ན།
⁸ བདེ་སྦྱིད་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚྩ་གས།
⁹ ང་རང་ལོ་ཆུང་ཅིང་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

The sun shines on a golden bucket brimming with gold. May we be happy and have good lives.

¹ ཉི་མ་ལ་ཤར་ལུང་ཤར།
² གསེར་ཚོ་ཁ་ལ་ཤར་(སོང)།
³ གསེར་ཚོ་ཁ་ལ་ཤར་ན།
⁴ གསེར་ཚོ་གསེར་གྱིས་གང་(བྱང)།
⁵ གསེར་ཚོ་གསེར་གྱིས་གང་ན།
⁶ བདེ་སྦྱིད་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚྩ་གས།
⁷ ང་རང་ལོ་ཆུང་ཅིང་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

The sun shines on a silver bucket brimming with silver. May we be happy and have good lives.

¹ ཉི་མ་ལ་ཤར་ལུང་ཤར།
² དདུལ་ཚོ་ཁ་ལ་ཤར་(སོང)།
³ དདུལ་ཚོ་ཁ་ལ་ཤར་ན།
⁴ དདུལ་ཚོ་དདུལ་གྱིས་གང་(བྱང)།
⁵ དདུལ་ཚོ་དདུལ་གྱིས་གང་ན།
⁶ བདེ་སྦྱིད་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚྩ་གས།
⁷ ང་རང་ལོ་ཆུང་ཅིང་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

All trees that grow are sandalwood and all birds that fly are peacocks. All goodness is gathered here.

¹སྟོད་རྒྱ་གར་ལྷ་ར་གོང་མ་ན།
²ཤིང་ཡར་སྐྱེས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཙན་དན་རེད།
³བྱ་མར་འབབ་ཐམས་ཅད་མ་བྱ་རེད།
⁴ཤིང་བཟང་པོ་བྱ་ཡག་ཤིང་འཛོམས་རེད།
⁵ང་རང་ལོ་རྒྱུད་རྩེད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

Good trees and birds are gathered in a happy place.

¹སྟོད་རྒྱ་གར་ལྷགས་རི་གོང་མ་རེད།
²ས་སྐྱིད་པོ་ཙན་དན་སྐད་སྐྱིད་རེད།
³ཤིང་བཟང་པོ་བྱ་ཡག་ཤིང་འཛོམས་བྱུང་།
⁴ང་རང་ལོ་རྒྱུད་རྩེད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

The sun and full moon are in the same sky. Though they appear at different times, they travel in the same direction.

¹ཨ་ཕྱོན་དཀྱིལ་གྱི་ཉི་མ།
²ཆེས་པ་བཅོ་ལྔའི་དྲུང་ལ།
³དེ་གཉིས་གནས་སྤྱགས་གཅིག་པ།
⁴འགྲོ་(ཤར)ས་ཉིན་མཚན་ཁ་ཁ་རེད།
⁵འགྲོ་(ཤར)ས་མི་གཅིག་མ་བསམ།
⁶ཨ་ཕྱོན་དཀྱིལ་ནས་ཕྱོགས་འགྲོ།
⁷ང་རང་ལོ་རྒྱུད་རྩེད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

May religion flourish.

¹རང་ཆོང་གསེར་གྱི་པ་བྱ།
²གསེར་གྱི་རྒྱ་སྒྲིང་རང་བྱགས།
³གསེར་གྱི་རྒྱ་སྒྲིང་མ་རེད།
⁴རང་ཆོང་སྟ་ལྷས་བཟང་པོ་རེད།
⁵རང་ཆོང་སྟ་ལྷས་བཟང་པོ།

⁶ཆོས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱེད་པ་དང་།

⁷ང་རང་ལོ་ཚུང་ཅིང་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

May there be good weather and bountiful harvests.

¹དགུང་ཨ་ཕྱོན་གནམ་ཕྱི་སྤྱིན་ཕྱི་རེད།

²གནམ་ཕྱི་ཕྱི་ཉི་མ་ཤར་ས་རེད།

³སྤྱིན་ཕྱི་ཕྱི་སྒྲང་ཆར་འབབ་ས་རེད།

⁴སྤྱིན་ལམ་ཡག་པོ་དེ་ཨ་འབྲི་ནས་ལ་ཐོབ།

⁵ང་རང་ལོ་ཚུང་ཅིང་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

The sun, moon, and stars are wonderful. May they all gather together.

¹དགུང་སྤྱིད་ཨ་ཕྱོན་ལོ་ཡག་ལྷང་བ་རེད།

²གསེར་སྤྱིད་ཉི་ཟླ་ལོ་ཡག་སྟེ་མ་རེད།

³བྱབ་སྤྱིད་སྐར་བྱ་ལོ་ཡག་འབྲུ་ཅེ་རེད།

⁴དགའ་མོ་དེ་གསུམ་འཛོམས་པའི་སྤྱོན་ལམ་ཤོག།

⁵ང་རང་ལོ་ཚུང་ཅིང་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

May the sky, sun, and stars gather.

¹དགུང་མོ་ཨ་ཕྱོན་ཨ་སྤྱིད་སྤྱིད་ཀྱི་ས།

²གསེར་ཤིང་ཉི་མ་ཨ་འཛོམས་འཛོམས་ཀྱི་ས།

³བྱབ་སྤྱིད་སྐར་ཚོགས་འཛོམས་པའི་སྤྱོན་ལམ་ཤོག།

⁴ང་རང་ལོ་ཚུང་ཅིང་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

The golden mountains are the home of three golden birds. Though the three mountains are far from each other, the three golden birds may gather.

¹གསེར་རི་ལ་རྒྱས་ལྷང་རྒྱས།

²གསེར་བྱ་གསུམ་ཀྱི་པ་ཡུལ་རེད།

³གསེར་རི་ཁ་ཐག་རིང་བས།

⁴འཛོམ་རྒྱ་མ་རེད་བསམ་བྱང་།

⁵གསེར་རི་ལས་དབང་ཆེ་བས།
⁶མ་བསམ་རང་ཤུགས་འཛོམས་བྱང་།
⁷ང་རང་ལོ་རྒྱུད་ཅིང་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

Praise to the sun, moon, and stars.

¹དགུང་སྤྱིད་ཨ་ཕྱོན་ལྷ་ཡི་ཉི་མ་ཤར།
²གསེར་ཤིང་(ཁྲི་གདུགས་)ཉི་ཟླ་མེ་ཏྲག་ཆར་རེ་འབབ།
³བརྒྱ་སྤྱིད་སྐར་ཆོགས་མེ་ཏྲག་འདབ་མ་རྒྱས།
⁴ང་རང་ལོ་རྒྱུད་ཅིང་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

The sky is like a lake and the sun and moon are jewels in the lake, surrounded by the stars.

¹དགུང་སྤྱིད་ཨ་ཕྱོན་མཚོ་ཆེན་མཚོ་རྒྱུད་རེད།
²གསེར་ཤིང་ཉི་ཟླ་མཚོ་ནང་ནོར་བུ་རེད།
³རྒྱབ་སྤྱིད་སྐར་བཟ་ནོར་བུ་མཐའ་ནས་རྒྱས།
⁴དགའ་མ་དེ་གསུམ་འཛོམས་བའི་སྤོན་ལམ་ཤོག།
⁵ང་རང་ལོ་རྒྱུད་ཅིང་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

The following song, Bkra shis chung ba, expresses the wish that villagers' *g.yang* will increase.

¹དགུང་ཨ་ཕྱོན་མ་རེད་གཡང་ར་རེད།
²གསེར་ཉི་ཟླ་མ་རེད་མདའ་དར་རེད།
³གསེར་ཉི་ཟླ་མདའ་དར་གཡང་འབོད་བཞོ།
⁴གཡང་ཕྱི་ལ་མ་འགྲོ་ནང་ལ་ཤོག།
⁵ང་རང་ལོ་རྒྱུད་ཅིང་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

The following song, Bkra shis che ba, states that the propitious mountain has a lucky horse, and the horse has a foal, saddle, and rider. The refrain, "May auspiciousness gather on the auspicious mountain," is repeated in odd-numbered lines.

- ¹བག་ཤིས་རི་ལ་བག་ཤིས་འཛོམས་པར་ཤོག།
- ²བག་ཤིས་རི་ལ་རྟ་བརྟ་འཛོམས་པར་ཤོག།
- ³བག་ཤིས་རི་ལ་བག་ཤིས་འཛོམས་པར་ཤོག།
- ⁴རྟ་ལ་མ་བརྟ་བྱ་བརྟ་འཛོམས་པར་ཤོག།
- ⁵བག་ཤིས་རི་ལ་བག་ཤིས་འཛོམས་པར་ཤོག།
- ⁶ཡོ་ལ་ཆེན་ཆ་མ་ཆ་འབྲེལ་འཛོམས་པར་ཤོག།
- ⁷བག་ཤིས་རི་ལ་བག་ཤིས་འཛོམས་པར་ཤོག།
- ⁸མགོ་འི་(བཞོན)མི་བྱ་འདི་སྟག་སྟོ་འཛོམས་པར་ཤོག།
- ⁹བག་ཤིས་རི་ལ་བག་ཤིས་འཛོམས་པར་ཤོག།
- ¹⁰ང་རང་ལོ་ཆུང་ཆེད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

Wedding Dance Songs

The following two songs may be sung by the groom's villagers at any time during the wedding. This song states that the sun has arrived and all the stars have come to greet it. It expresses the wish that all the senders and greeters will be happy together.

- ¹གསེར་ཤིང་ཉི་མ་འཛོམས་པའི་དེ་རུབ་རེད།།
- ²བརྟ་ཤིང་སྐར་ཆོགས་དེ་ད་ལ་བསྟ་མ་བཟོ།།
- ³བསྟ་མ་སྟོ་ལ་མ་དེ་བདེ་སྦྱིད་ཕུན་སུམ་ཆོགས།།
- ⁴ང་རང་ལོ་ཆུང་ཆེད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

This song suggests that although the bride does not yet have close relationships with villagers, they will nonetheless help her.

- ¹ལྷང་བ་ཆུང་ཆུང་སྟ་ཆུ་འཛོམས་ས་རེད།།
- ²ཨ་ཟེར་(བྱ་མོ)ཆུང་ཆུང་གོང་ལ་ཡར་ཆགས་བྱང་།།
- ³ཨ་ཟེར་ཆུང་ཆུང་རོགས་དང་མ་མཐུན་གོང་།།
- ⁴རྒྱ་གོང་ལོ་ཆུང་ཁྱོད་ལ་བྱམས་ཆེན་བཟོ།།

⁵ང་རང་ལོ་ཚུང་ཕྱིད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

The following two songs may be sung by the bride's villagers at any time during the wedding. This song asks the groom's villagers to care for the bride.

¹གངས་སྟོད་མཐོན་པོ་གངས་ཀྱི་ཡར་ནང་ལ།
²མིང་ཕྱག་ཚུང་ཚུང་གངས་ལ་ཡར་ཆགས་རེད།
³མིང་ཕྱག་ཚུང་ཚུང་གཡུ་རལ་མ་རྒྱས་གོང་།
⁴གངས་སྟོད་མཐོན་པོ་དེ་ལ་བྱམས་ཆེན་རོགས།
⁵ང་རང་ལོ་ཚུང་ཕྱིད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

This song asks villagers to take special care of the bride until she is comfortable in her new home.

¹གྲོང་ཆེན་གྲོང་ཚུང་གྲོང་གི་ཡར་ནང་ན།
²ཨ་ཟེར་ཚུང་ཚུང་གྲོང་ལ་ཡར་ཆགས་རེད།
³ཨ་ཟེར་ཚུང་ཚུང་ལོ་ཚུང་མ་འབྲེལ་གོང་།
⁴གྲོང་ཆེན་ལོ་ཚུང་དེ་ལ་བྱམས་ཆེན་རོགས།
⁵ང་རང་ལོ་ཚུང་ཕྱིད་ར་བདེ་མོར་ཤོག།

Competitive Dance Songs

Competitive dance songs are sung during circle dances at weddings and other informal gatherings, but not during New Year celebrations, which are considered too formal for this type of song.

A: There are three heads lacking brains. Tell me what they are.

¹མགོ་གསུམ་པ་མེད་པའི་མགོ་གསུམ་ཡོད།
²བྲ་སིང་སིང་ལོ་རྒྱས་ང་ལ་བཤད།

B: Three heads lacking brains are the three heads of the statues of the Buddhas of the Three Ages.⁸⁵

¹མགོ་ལྷན་པ་མེད་པའི་མགོ་གསུམ་དེ།

²ལྷ་རྩ་བོ་དག་པ་མགོན་གསུམ་རེད།

A: There are thirteen grasslands where no horses run. Tell me what they are.

¹རྟ་མ་རྒྱལ་ཐང་ཆེན་བརྩ་གསུམ་ཡོད།

²བླ་སིང་སིང་ལོ་རྒྱས་ང་ལ་བཤད།

B: The thirteen grasslands where no horses run are thirteen *thang ga*.

¹རྟ་མ་རྒྱལ་ཐང་ཆེན་བརྩ་གསུམ་དེ།

²ལྷ་སླ་མའི་ཐང་ག་བརྩ་གསུམ་རེད།

A: There are thirteen lakes that nobody steps in. Tell me what they are.

¹མཚོ་མ་སྐང་མཚོ་ཆེན་བརྩ་གསུམ་ཡོད།

²བླ་སིང་སིང་ལོ་རྒྱས་ང་ལ་བཤད།

B: The thirteen lakes that nobody steps on are thirteen offering bowls of holy water.⁸⁶

¹མཚོ་མ་སྐང་མཚོ་ཆེན་བརྩ་གསུམ་དེ།

²ལྷ་སླ་མའི་ཡོན་ཆབ་བརྩ་གསུམ་རེད།

A: There are three weapons not made by blacksmiths. Tell me what they are.

¹མགར་མ་རྩང་མཚོན་ཆ་རྣམ་གསུམ་ཡོད།

⁸⁵ The Buddhas of the past, present, and future.

⁸⁶ Water in bowls is offered to deities in monasteries and family shrines. The water is changed daily.

²ཁྲ་སིང་སིང་ལོ་རྒྱས་ང་ལ་བཤད།

B: The three weapons are the antlers of deer, blue sheep, and alpine antelopes.

¹མགར་མཐ་བརྟུངས་མཚན་ཆ་རྣམ་གསུམ་དེ།

²ཤ་ར་གནའ་ར་དགོ་ར་གསུམ།

A: There are three weapons made by blacksmiths. Tell me what they are.

¹མགར་བརྟུངས་བའི་མཚན་ཆ་རྣམ་གསུམ་ཡིད།

²ཁྲ་སིང་སིང་ལོ་རྒྱས་ང་ལ་བཤད།

B: The three weapons made by blacksmiths are the tips of needles, drills, and spears.

¹མགར་བརྟུངས་བའི་མཚན་ཆ་རྣམ་གསུམ་དེ།

²ཁབ་མགོ་འབིག་མགོ་མདུང་མགོ་གསུམ།

Songs

One of approximately ten two-line refrains is used to conclude these generic songs that may be sung at any celebratory gathering. Six such refrains are given below.

Youths' singing will bring good fortune in their next lives.

¹ལོ་རྒྱུང་རྒྱུང་སྒྲ་དབྱངས་མགུལ་རྒྱ་དེ།

²ཆེ་ཕྱི་མའི་ཆོས་ལ་འགྱུར་བར་ཤོག།

We are singing now and wish to continue singing.

¹སྒྲ་ད་ཡང་ལེན་དང་སང་ཡང་ལེན།

²སང་ཡང་ཡང་ལེན་བའི་སྒོན་ལམ་ཤོག།

We have met this year. May we meet again in the future.

¹དགའ་དེ་ལོ་ཅི་འཛོམས་སང་ཡང་འཛོམས།

²སང་ཡང་ཡང་འཛོམས་པའི་སློན་ལམ་ཤོག།

May our singing bring good fortune and be heard everywhere.

¹སླུ་ལེན་ལེན་ཆོས་ལ་འགྱུར་བ་ཤོག།

²ངག་བཀུག་བཀུག་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་གྲགས་པར་ཤོག།

I did not feel like singing but the mountains were high. I did not feel like singing, but I missed my hometown.⁸⁷

¹སླུ་མི་ལེན་བསམ་དུས་རི་མགོ་མཐོ།

²ངག་མི་བཀུག་བསམ་དུས་རང་ཡུལ་དྲན།

I happily sang this song in the hope that your dreams will come true.

¹ངས་བསམ་པ་དགའ་བའི་སླུ་རི་ལེན།

²ཁྱོད་བསམ་དོན་འགྲུབ་པའི་སློན་ལམ་ཤོག།

Examples of the songs follow.

A sandalwood tree growing on a mountain and a peacock from a distant land are fated to meet, but they do not know when.

¹ཤིང་དགུང་ནས་སྦྱེས་པའི་ཅན་དན་རེད།

²བྱ་སྒྲོངས་ནས་འོང་བའི་མ་བྱ་རེད།

³འཛོམས་དགོས་དུས་ཆོད་མི་དགོས་པར།

⁸⁷ This refrain suggests that nostalgia inspired the singer to sing.

⁴ཆེ་ལྷ་མས་ལས་ཀྱིས་དུས་འཛོམས་བྱང་།
⁵ལྷ་ཁྱུང་ཁྱུང་སྤྱད་བྱངས་མགུལ་རྒྱ་དེ།
⁶ཆེ་བྱི་མའི་ཆོས་ལ་འགྱུར་བར་ཤོག།

Thunder can be heard on earth, thus ornamenting both sky and earth.

¹རྟེན་འབྲེལ་བརྩུ་གསུམ་མགོ་མ་ལ།
²གཡུ་འབྱུག་སྟོན་མོ་དགོང་ནས་གྲགས་དང་ས་ལ་སྟན།
³གནམ་ས་བར་གྱི་རྒྱན་དུག་རེད།
⁴སྤྱད་ཡང་ལེན་དང་སང་ཡང་ལེན།
⁵སྤྱད་ཡང་ཡང་ལེན་གི་སྟོན་ལམ་ཤོག།

All the stars are gathered in the sky and the sun shines, delighting everyone.

¹ཨ་ཅེ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་རེད།
²ཨ་ཅེ་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་རེད་གོ།
³ཆེ་རིང་ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་རེད་གོ།
⁴དགོང་ཨ་སྟོན་ཡག་གསུམ་ནོར་བུ་སྤྱིང་ལ་སྐར་རྒྱན་འཛོམས།
⁵ཁྱི་ཉི་མ་ཤར་བ་ཡང་སྤྱིད་བྱང་།
⁶སྤྱད་ལེན་ལེན་ཆོས་ལ་འགྱུར་བར་ཤོག།
⁷ངག་བཀུག་བཀུག་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་གྲགས་བར་ཤོག།

May everyone's life be long and happy, and may we meet again in the next life.

¹བཀྲ་ཤིས་པའི་ཡར་སྐྱེས་ཤིང་ལྷང་འདི།
²ཆེ་རིང་པོ་འདབ་ལོ་ས་ལ་འབྱངས།
³ཆེ་རིང་ཆེ་སྤྱིད་ཆེ་འཛོམས།
⁴ཆེ་ཡང་ཡང་འཛོམས་པའི་སྟོན་ལམ་ཤོག།
⁵སྤྱད་ཡང་ལེན་དང་སང་ཡང་ལེན།
⁶སང་ཡང་ཡང་ལེན་པའི་སྟོན་ལམ་ཤོག།

May the sun, moon, and stars gather. They do not often gather, but today they have.

¹ཉི་མ་ཟླ་བ་སྐར་མ་གསུམ།
²ཆོ་དུས་རྒྱན་མེད་ལ་ཨེ་འཛོམས་བསམ།
³ཆོ་དུས་རྒྱན་མེད་ལ་མ་འཛོམས་སོ།
⁴བརྒྱ་སྐར་ཆོགས་རྒྱན་དང་འདི་ལ་འཛོམས།
⁵སྤྱི་དྲུང་ཡང་ལེན་དང་སང་ཡང་ལེན།
⁶སང་ཡང་ཡང་ལེན་པའི་སྟོན་ལམ་ཤོག།

When we are happily together we should enjoy ourselves, because we will separate tomorrow morning.

¹སྤྱི་པོ་མ་དེ་སྤྱི་པོ་མ།
²དགའ་དེ་ཕུབ་འཛོམས་རྒྱ་སྤྱི་པོ་མ།
³སྤྱི་དུས་ན་ཁ་ཅིད་མོ་མ་ཅིད་ན།
⁴ནངས་ཡར་ལངས་ཚྭགས་བཞི་འཐོར་བ་རེད།
⁵སྤྱི་དྲུང་ཡང་ལེན་དང་སང་ཡང་ལེན།
⁶སང་ཡང་ཡང་ལེན་པའི་སྟོན་ལམ་ཤོག།

May the sun, moon, and thousands of people gather.

¹ཁྱི་གདུགས་ཉི་མ་དགུང་ནས་འཛོམས།
²དུང་ཚུང་ཟླ་བ་བར་ནས་འཛོམས།
³མི་འབྱུང་ཕྱག་མཐའ་ནས་འཛོམས།
⁴དགའ་དེ་གསུམ་འཛོམས་པའི་སྟོན་ལམ་ཤོག།
⁵དགའ་དེ་ལོ་ཅི་འཛོམས་སང་ཡང་འཛོམས།
⁶སང་ཡང་ཡང་འཛོམས་པའི་སྟོན་ལམ་ཤོག།

Two people were destined to meet.

¹རྩ་རི་བྲག་ལས་ཡར་ནང་ན།
²གངས་རི་ཉི་(ཁྱེད་)ལས་མཐོ་མེད་གི།
³གནའ་ལྷ་མོ་རྩ་རྒྱ་འབྱུང་རེད།
⁴དུས་དེ་ནི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ལས་ཀྱིས་འཛོམས།

⁵སྤྱ་ལེན་ལེན་ཚས་ལ་འགྱུར་བ་ཤོག།
⁶ངག་བཀུག་བཀུག་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་གྲགས་པར་ཤོག།

A beautiful place covered in flowers delights the singer.

¹ས་སྤྱིད་པོ་སྤོན་ལམ་ལ་ཁ་ལ།
²གཡང་སྤྱིད་པོ་སྤོན་ལ་མེ་ཏྲག་འཁྱུངས།
³སྤང་མེ་ཏྲག་མཚམས་ནས་ཉྩ་དུས་སྤྱ།
⁴ས་མེད་ཁ་སེམས་པ་སྤྱིད་པོ་བྱང་།
⁵སྤྱ་མེ་ལེན་བསམ་དུས་རེ་མགོ་མཚོ།
⁶ངག་མེ་བཀུག་བསམ་དུས་རང་ཡུལ་བྲན།

Friendship is valuable.

¹རང་ང་ནི་རྟོགས་གྲལ་མ་འདྲིས་གོང་།
²རྒྱང་ཁ་མོ་ར་དང་འདྲ་།
³རང་ང་ནི་རྟོགས་གྲལ་འདྲིས་གོང་(བ་ན)།
⁴རྒྱང་ཁ་མོ་འབྱུག་དང་འདྲ་།
⁵ངའི་བསམ་པ་དགའ་བའི་སྤྱ་རེ་ལེན།
⁶ཁྱེད་བསམ་དོན་འགྱུར་པའི་སྤོན་ལམ་ཤོག།

In the morning a leader was helped to mount his horse.

¹དགའ་ད་ནངས་ཉི་ཟེར་ཤར་དུས་ལ།
²གོང་དཔོན་པོ་གསེར་སྒྲ་རྒྱག་བཞིན་འདུག།
³དཔོན་བཙན་རྒྱང་གསེར་སྒྲ་རྒྱབ་རྟོགས་རེད།
⁴ཁ་གསེར་སྒྲབ་བཞུན་པ་ཡར་དར་ཤོག།
⁵དགའ་ད་ལོ་ཅི་འཛོམས་སང་ཡང་འཛོམས།
⁶སང་ཡང་ཡང་འཛོམས་པའི་སྤོན་ལམ་ཤོག།

We were just like wild asses scattered on a mountain before we gathered here, but now we are as close as wild ass mothers and their foals.

- ¹དགའ་ངས་ནམས་རོགས་དང་མ་འཛོམས་གོང་།
- ²རྒྱང་ཁྱ་བོ་རི་ལ་བརྒྱབ་འདྲ་རེད།
- ³དགའ་ངས་ནམས་རོགས་དང་མ་འཛོམས་ནས་གོང་(བ་ན)།
- ⁴རྒྱང་ཁྱ་བོ་མ་ཁྱ་(བྱ)་ཐུག་འདྲ་རེད།
- ⁵དགའ་ད་ལོ་ཅི་འཛོམས་སང་ཡང་འཛོམས།
- ⁶སང་ཡང་ཡང་འཛོམས་པའི་སྒོན་ལམ་ཤོག།

When monks play with words in the temple the words become clearer, and the monks' voices become more melodious.

- ¹སྟངས་སྟ་ཁང་ནང་གི་བཅན་ཆུང་དེ།
- ²བཅན་ཆུང་ཡི་ཆུང་ཁ་མཆར་ཅིད།
- ³ཡིག་ཆུང་ཡིག་འབྲི་རི་བྲག་བྱང་།
- ⁴བཅན་ཆུང་གསུང་སྐད་རི་སྟན་བྱང་།
- ⁵ལོ་ཆུང་ཆུང་སྤྱོད་བྱངས་མགུལ་རྒྱ་དེ།
- ⁶ཆོ་སྤྱོད་མར་ཆོས་ལ་འགྱུར་བར་ཤོག།

Wedding Songs

The following songs are sung at weddings. The next three songs are sung by the groom's villagers.

In the homeland of the sky, the sun and moon are guests, and all the stars are greeters. May senders and greeters be happy.

- ¹དགྲང་མ་སྒོན་སྤྱིད་པའི་ས་ཡུལ་རེད།
- ²གསེར་ཉི་ཟླ་སྤྱིད་ཐོག་མགོན་པོ་རེད།
- ³བརྒྱ་སྐར་ཆོགས་དེ་ཡི་བསུ་མ་རེད།
- ⁴བསུ་མ་སྤྱིལ་མ་བདེ་སྤྱིད་ཕུན་སུམ་ཆོགས།
- ⁵ངས་བསམ་པ་དགའ་བའི་སྤྱོད་རེ་ལེན།
- ⁶སྤྱོད་བསམ་དོན་འགྱུར་བའི་སྒོན་ལམ་ཤོག།

Buttercups grow on one riverbank, and a tree grows on the opposite bank. Though they grow in different places, they meet in the shrine.⁸⁸

¹ཕ་རོལ་རི་ལ་སེར་ཆེན་འབྲུངས།
²ཚུ་རོལ་རི་ལ་ཕྱོན་གྱིང་འབྲུངས།
³སྐྱེས་ས་མི་གཅིག་ལ་རི་ལྷང་།
⁴འཛོམས་ས་ཡག་མོ་སྟ་ཁང་ནང་།
⁵ངས་བསམ་པ་དགའ་བའི་སྤྱ་རེ་ལེན།
⁶བྱོད་བསམ་དོན་འགྲུབ་པའི་སྤོན་ལམ་ཤོག།

Sandalwood grows on one riverbank, and cypress grows on the opposite bank. Though they grow in different places they meet in the offering fire.⁸⁹

¹ཕ་རོལ་རི་ལ་བྱུག་ཕྱང་འབྲུངས།
²ཚུ་རོལ་རི་ལ་ཐང་གིང་འབྲུངས།
³སྐྱེས་ས་མི་གཅིག་ལ་རི་ལྷང་།
⁴འཛོམས་ས་ཡག་མོ་བསང་ར་ནང་།
⁵སྤྱ་ད་ཡང་ལེན་དང་སང་ཡང་ལེན།
⁶སང་ཡང་ཡང་ལེན་པའི་སྤོན་ལམ་ཤོག།

The following songs are sung by the bride's villagers.

When a young woman leaves her village she need not worry because all the young villagers escort her. May all the greeters and senders be happy.

¹གྲོང་ཆེན་གྲོང་ཆུང་གྲོང་གི་ཡར་ནང་ལ།
²ཨ་བེས་ཆུང་ཆུང་གྲོང་ལ་པར་འགོ་དགོས།
³འགོ་དགོས་པ་སེམས་པ་མ་སྤྱུག་ཏེ།
⁴ཀྱ་གྲོང་ལོ་ཆུང་བྱོད་ལ་སྐྱེལ་མ་བཞོ།

⁸⁸ Both plants are burned as incense offerings in shrines.

⁸⁹ Both plants are burned as incense offerings.

⁵བསུ་མ་སྒྱེལ་མ་བདེ་སྒྱིད་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས།
⁶སྒྱུ་དྲ་ཡང་ལེན་དང་སང་ཡང་ལེན།
⁷སང་ཡང་ཡང་ལེན་པའི་སྒྲོན་ལམ་ཤོག།

Oh, blue sky-like bow and golden sun-like arrow. Please, arrow, return to your bow. Your bow will send you off.

¹དགུང་ཨ་སྒྲོན་མ་དགུག་གཞུ་དང་འདྲ།
²གསེར་ཉི་མ་མ་འཕངས་མདའ་དང་འདྲ།
³མདའ་མོ་གཞུ་ལ་འཁོར་རོགས་ཀྱིས།
⁴ང་གཞུ་མོ་མདའ་ལ་སྒྱེལ་མ་བཟོ།
⁵ངས་བསམ་པ་དགའ་བའི་སྒྱུ་རེ་ལེན།
⁶ཁྱོད་བསམ་དོན་འགྲུབ་པའི་སྒྲོན་ལམ་ཤོག།

The sun drinks snowmelt and wears white clouds.

¹དགུང་ཨ་སྒྲོན་སྤང་ལ་འགོ་བའི་ཉི་མ།
²འགོ་སྒྱིད་པོ་ཁྱི་གདུགས་ཉི་མ་རེད།
³ཁར་འཐུང་རྒྱ་གངས་རྒྱ་བསིལ་མ་རེད།
⁴རྒྱབ་གོན་རྒྱ་མོ་སྒྲིན་དཀར་པོ་རེད།
⁵སྒྱུ་དྲ་ཡང་ལེན་དང་སང་ཡང་ལེན།
⁶སང་ཡང་ཡང་ལེན་པའི་སྒྲོན་ལམ་ཤོག།

The moon drinks snowmelt and wears a colorful rainbow.

¹དགུང་ཨ་སྒྲོན་སྤང་ལ་འགོའི་ཟླ་བ།
²འགོ་སྒྱིད་པོ་དྲུང་རྒྱུང་ཟླ་བ་རེད།
³ཁར་ཟ་རྒྱ་རྒྱུང་ཆར་བསིལ་མ་རེད།
⁴རྒྱབ་གོན་རྒྱ་དར་མཚོན་རྩ་ལྗང་རེད།
⁵སྒྱུ་དྲ་ཡང་ལེན་དང་སང་ཡང་ལེན།
⁶སང་ཡང་ཡང་ལེན་པའི་སྒྲོན་ལམ་ཤོག།

Beautiful woman, you were fated to be beautiful.

¹མཛེས་མོ་མ་དེ་མཛེས་མོ་མ།།(མཛེས་མ་ལས་ཀྱང་མཛེས་མ་དེ།)

²ལ་རི་བོ་སྐང་ལ་མཛེས་མོ་མ།།(ན་མིང་ལ་མཛེས་)

³མཛེས་བ་མ་རེད་སྐལ་བ་རེད།།

⁴སྐལ་བ་རང་ལ་ཚོབ་བ་རེད།།

⁵ལྷ་ཚུང་ཚུང་སྒྲུ་དབྱངས་མགུལ་སྒྲུ་དེ།།

⁶ཆོ་ཕྱི་མར་ཆོས་ལ་འགྱུར་བར་ཤོག།

I never sing, but today I will sing to the sky about happiness and about leaving.

¹ལྷ་མི་ལེན་གཅིག་དང་མི་ལེན་གཉིས།།

²ལྷ་ལེན་ན་ཨ་ཚོན་དགུང་ལ་ལེན།།

³དགུང་ཨ་ཚོན་སྦྱིད་རབས་བདེ་རབས་ལེན།།

⁴ཁྱི་ཉི་མ་འགོ་རབས་འདུག་རབས་ལེན།།

⁵ངས་སེམས་བ་དགའ་བའི་སྒྲུ་རེ་ལེན།།

⁶ཁྱོད་བསམ་དོན་འགྲུབ་པའི་ཚོན་ལམ་ཤོག།

The following five songs are sung by the bride's entourage in her home and express the bride's sadness at leaving her family.

Big and small mountains are leaving, but the best mountain will remain here. Do not worry, I, the bride, will offer *bsang* from a distance.

¹རི་ཆེ་རི་ཆུང་ཟུར་ནས་འབྲེལ་(འགོ)།།

²རི་ནོར་བྱ་འདྲ་བོས་ཤུལ་ལ་སྟག།

³རྟ་(ཁྱོད)་ཤུལ་ལ་སྟག་སེམས་བ་མ་སྒྲུག་ཏེ།།

⁴ངས་སྟ་བསང་དགའ་བོ་རྒྱུད་ནས་བཏང་།།

⁵ལྷ་ད་ཡང་ལེན་དང་སང་ཡང་ལེན།།

⁶སང་ཡང་ཡང་ལེན་པའི་ཚོན་ལམ་ཤོག།

I, the bride, will make *lab rtse* and offer *bsang* all along the way to the groom's home.

- ¹སྒང་མི་འདི་སྒང་དེ་བསོད་ནམས་སྒང་།
- ²བསོད་ནམས་སྒང་ལ་ཡར་ཡར་འབྲལ་(འཕྱོ།)
- ³གསེར་སེར་པའི་ལབ་ཅེ་བཅྱགས་ཤིང་(བཞིན་)འབྲལ་(འཕྱོ།)
- ⁴དདུལ་དཀར་བོ་ཕྱི་མར་འབྲལ་ཤིང་(བཞིན་)འཕྱོ།
- ⁵སྐྱ་ལེན་ལེན་ཆོས་ལ་འགྱུར་བར་ཤོག།
- ⁶ངག་བཀུག་བཀུག་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་གྲགས་པར་ཤོག།

I, the bride, will pass over mountains and rest by a *lab rtse*. I will not rest because I am tired, but because I miss my village.

- ¹ང་འཕྱོ་སྒྲིང་རི་སྒྲིང་ནས་འཕྱོ།
- ²སྒྲིང་ལབ་ཅེ་པར་ལ་ཆད་རེ་གསོ(ངལ་གསོ)།
- ³ངས་ཆད་གསོ་བ་དཀའ་ལས་མི་འདུག་ཏེ།
- ⁴ཤོང་རྒྱ་ཤོང་དེ་ལ་ཡིད་རེ་ཆགས།
- ⁵སྐྱ་ད་ཡང་ལེན་དང་སང་ཡང་ལེན།
- ⁶སང་ཡང་ཡང་ལེན་པའི་སྟོན་ལམ་ཤོག།

Before you disappear behind the mountain, please look back at your village.

- ¹ཁ་སིལ་སིལ་དང་ཁ་ལྗང་ལྗང་།
- ²མགོ་དདུལ་ཁེབས་གྱོན་དང་ཁ་ལྗང་ལྗང་།
- ³ཁ་ལྗང་ཕྱི་ལ་མོ་མ་གཙོད་གོང་།
- ⁴ཤོང་རྒྱ་ཤོང་དེ་ལ་ཕྱིར་འཁོར་རོགས།
- ⁵སྐྱ་ལེན་ལེན་ཆོས་ལ་འགྱུར་བར་ཤོག།
- ⁶ངག་བཀུག་བཀུག་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་གྲགས་པར་ཤོག།

The rock and snow mountains dwell together. I, snow mountain, must leave. I do not worry about leaving, but I worry about you, rock mountain, being left behind.

¹རྩ་དང་གངས་རི་མཉམ་ཆགས་རེད།
²ང་གངས་རི་མི་འདུག་འགྲོ་དགོས་བྱུང་།
³ང་གངས་རི་འགྲོ་དགོས་བ་མི་སྤྲུག་ཏེ།
⁴ཁྱོད་རྩ་རི་སྤྲུག་ནས་ཡིད་རེ་སྟོན་(སྟེ)།
⁵སྤྲུ་ད་ཡང་ལེན་དང་སང་ཡང་ལེན།
⁶སང་ཡང་ཡང་ལེན་བའི་སྟོན་ལམ་ཤོག།

A NEW YEAR SPEECH

The following is an excerpt from the speech given after Bkra shis rgyas was performed in Mtha' phyug during ལེ་འདྲེ་ in 2010. The speech starts with a description of the creation of the world, praises locally famous mountains and rivers, reviews who gave *dzog te* to the dancers, and wishes all villagers well. The speech is transcribed in literary Tibetan with a brief English summary introducing each verse.⁹⁰

Lines contain from three to seventeen syllables. The term *da de ring* 'now, today' is repeated throughout. The speech is divided into eleven verses according to content. When giving the speech, the orator occasionally marked new verses by repeating such terms as *da de ring*, and also paused between verses to drink tea or juice. The orator spoke loudly throughout the speech, using an even rhythm that was slower than normal speech. Many proverbs, honorifics, and hyperbole were also used, for example, when describing the house as being full of property. The speech contains 144 lines and took seven minutes to orate.

The first verse explained why *legs so* is said. *Legs* means 'good' and *so* is comparable to a full stop, indicating

⁹⁰ This and the following speeches are not divided into discrete verses when delivered by local orators, however, we wrote the speech text in verses to aid reading.

that what will be said or has been said is good. It is commonly used at the beginning and end of formal speeches.

- ¹འོ་ལེགས་སོ། ལེགས་སོ།
²ད་ལེགས་སོ་ལེགས་སོ་བེར་རྒྱ།
³ལྷ་སྒྲ་མའི་ཆོས་ར་ནང་ལ་ལེགས་སོ།
⁴གོང་དཔོན་པོའི་བློམས་ར་ནང་ལ་ཡང་ལེགས་སོ།
⁵འོ་རྒྱལ་རྒྱལ་ཅིད་ར་ནང་ལ་ཡང་ལེགས་སོ།
⁶ད་ལེགས་སའི་འོ་རྒྱས་དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན་ལགས།

The second verse described the auspiciousness of the day, on which people, deities, and all good things are gathered at the dancing ground.

- ⁷ད་དེ་རིང་།
⁸གནམ་ལ་སྐར་མ་བབང་།
⁹ས་ལ་དུས་ཚིད་བབང་།
¹⁰བར་ལ་གཟའ་སྐར་དར།
¹¹མི་འཛོམས་ལྷ་འཛོམས།
¹²ལྷ་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པ་སྒྲའི་ཞལ་འཛོམས།
¹³དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ནང་ལ་ལྷ་འཛོམས།
¹⁴བྱམ་པའི་ནང་ལ་རྒྱས་འཛོམས།
¹⁵དཀར་འོ་མའི་ནང་ལ་ཐམས་ཅད་འཛོམས་པའི་སྐབས་སུ།

The third verse stated that it was time to escort out the old year and greet the new year, and that all elders, men, women, youths, dance leaders, and dancers had gathered at the dance ground.

- ¹⁶ད་ལོ་རྩིང་བ་དེ་ཕར་བསྐྱལ།
¹⁷འོ་གསར་བ་དེ་ཚུར་བསྐྱལ།
¹⁸ད་ལོ་གསར་བ་སྒྲག་ཨོ་འདྲའི་ནང་དུ།
¹⁹ད་ཡར་ཆོས་བབང་པོ་ཆོས་པ་བཙེ་ལྷའི་དུས་ཚིད་ལ་གཏམ་ཞིག་བཤད་ན།
²⁰སྤྱིང་གི་ཆེ་རབས་རྒྱན་གསུམ།

- ²¹བར་གྱི་ཕ་དང་ཨ་ཁ།
²²འོག་གི་མ་དང་ཨ་ཁ།
²³འདྲ་ཚོགས་ནམ་པ་ལྷ་ཚོགས།
²⁴བོ་དཔོན་ལྷགས་ཇེ་ཆེན་པོ།
²⁵བོ་བ་ནམ་པ་ལྷ་ཚོགས།
²⁶འདྲིང་འཛོམས་པའི་སྐབས་སུ།
²⁷འཛོམས་པའི་ཚོག་གཅིག་གཉིས་རེ་བཤད་ན།

The fourth verse praised male dancers by describing their fox-skin hats and leather boots, and comparing them to rainbows around the sun. Female dancers were compared to rainbows around the moon. All the dancers' decorations were likened to trees in summer.

- ²⁸ད་དེ་རིང་།
²⁹མ་ལྷ་ཅན་གྱིས་ནམ་མཁའ་གང་།
³⁰ལྷག་རྒྱང་ཅན་གྱིས་བར་ལྷང་གང་།
³¹སྐག་ལྷམ་ཅན་གྱིས་ས་གཞི་གང་།
³²ཕོ་གཡམས་གཡལ་ལ་བལྟས་ན་ཉི་མ་ཤར་འདྲ།
³³ཉི་མ་ལ་ཉི་གུར་ཕུབ་འདྲ།
³⁴མོ་གཡོན་གཡལ་ལ་བལྟས་ན་ཆེ་བ་ཤར་འདྲ།
³⁵ཆེ་བ་ལ་ཆེ་གུར་ཕུབ་འདྲ།
³⁶ལྷས་རྒྱན་ཆ་ལ་བལྟས་ན།
³⁷དབྱར་གྱི་ཅི་ཐོག་ཉི་མ།
³⁸འཛོམས་པའི་ཚོག་གཅིག་གཉིས་རེ་བཤད་ན།

This fifth verse described the creation of the world and men of differing abilities, and explained why speeches must be given.

- ³⁹ད་དེ་རིང་།
⁴⁰རྒྱང་ཨ་འདྲིང་གི་བརྒྱ་ཤ་གང་མཐུག།
⁴¹རྟ་ཤ་ལི་མིག་ཅུ་གང་དམར།

⁴²སྒྲུག་མངོས་མའི་སྤྱོད་གང་བདེ།
⁴³འདྲིམས་པའི་དུས་སྐབས་འདི་ལ།
⁴⁴གནས་འཁོར་ལོ་ཅིབས་བརྒྱད་མར་ནང་།
⁴⁵ས་བརྒྱ་འདབ་བརྒྱད་ཡང་སྤེང་།
⁴⁶ས་ཁུག་ཉིས་ཀྱི་མཐུན་སྦྱོར།
⁴⁷ནས་འབྱུངས་གི་སྤྱོད་ཚུལ།
⁴⁸ཕྱི་སྤྱོད་འཛིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ཆགས་ཚུལ།
⁴⁹ནང་བརྒྱད་སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་འབྱུངས་ཚུལ།
⁵⁰རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཆེན་པོ་མན་དང་རྩལ་ཡན་ཆད་བར་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཤད་།
⁵¹སྤྱོད་པོ་རབ་ཀྱིས་བཤད་ན་རྒྱ་གསུམ།
⁵²སྤྱོད་པོ་འབྲིང་གིས་བཤད་ན་ཉིན་གསུམ།
⁵³སྤྱོད་པོ་ཐུང་བཤད་ན་ལེུ་གསུམ།
⁵⁴བཤད་རྒྱ་རིམ་པར་ཡོད་ཀྱང་།
⁵⁵ཨེ་འགྲིག་ཅུང་ཙམ་རེ་མ་བཤད་ན།
⁵⁶གཅིག་བཤད་ན།
⁵⁷ཡ་མ་ཡིན་ཀྱང་གོ་བདེ་མི་འཛོད།
⁵⁸ཤར་ལྷ་རིའི་ཅེ་ནས་ཉི་མ་མ་ཤར་ན།
⁵⁹ཉིན་མཚན་གང་ཡིན་གྱི་དབྱེ་བ་མི་བྱེ།
⁶⁰གཡུ་འབྱུག་སྤོན་མོས་གསུང་རེ་མ་སྤོན་ན།
⁶¹དབྱར་དགུན་ཅི་ཡིན་དབྱེ་བ་མི་བྱེ།
⁶²ང་ཆར་ཟིལ་མ་མ་བབས་ན།
⁶³ནས་འབྱུངས་གི་མདངས་ཁ་མི་འགྱུར།

The sixth verse related the origin of Nyag rong and described the locally famous Kha ba lung ring and Skyobs 'byin seng nag mountains.

⁶⁴ཉག་ཨ་རྩོད་རོང་གི་ཆགས་ལྷགས་བྱུར་ཙམ་བཤད་ན།
⁶⁵ཉག་སྤོད་ཁ་བ་ལྱང་རིང་དེ་གངས་ཀྱི་རི།
⁶⁶གངས་དེ་ལ་སེང་གེ་མ་བྱ་ཆགས།
⁶⁷སེང་གེ་མ་བྱ་ལ་གཡུ་རལ་རྒྱས།

⁶⁸ཉག་མྱད་སྒྲོབས་འབྱེན་སང་ནག་དེ་ནགས་ཀྱི་རེ།

⁶⁹ནགས་དེ་ལ་སྒྲག་མོ་མ་བྱ་ཆགས།

⁷⁰སྒྲག་མོ་མ་བྱ་ལ་འཇུག་བྱག་རྒྱས།

The seventh verse discussed the origin of Bang smad and described how it is surrounded by protective mountain deities. Other virtues of the local landscape were also described.

⁷¹ད་གཅིག་བཤད་ན།

⁷²བང་མྱད་ཁྱུང་ཆེན་གདན་ཐང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱུས་ཙམ་བཤད་ན།

⁷³གཞི་བདག་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཡུང་བྱང་ཐུན་དགུ་དེ་མ་ཨ་ཁུ་བྱིན་གྱིས་བསྐྱོར་འདྲ།

⁷³མདུན་དུ་དགེ་སྟེན་པོ་སྒོ་མ་ཨ་ཁུས་རྩ་ཆང་བྱངས་འདྲ།

⁷⁴བྱ་ཟས་ཤེལ་གྱི་མཆོད་རྟེན་ནི་མཐའ་མར་མི་འགོ་བའི་རྟེན།

⁷⁵བྱང་གི་རྩ་མོང་རུས་ཐུལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ནི་བྱང་གི་དགུ་སྒོ་འདེད་མི།

⁷⁶ད་བང་མྱད་ཁྱུང་ཆེན་གདན་སྟེང་ནི་སྟེང་འོག་བར་ཐང་གསུམ།

⁷⁷སྟེང་ཐང་ནི་ལྷ་སྒྲ་མའི་ཆོས་ར་རྒྱས་ས།

⁷⁸བར་ཐང་ནི་གོང་དཔོན་པོའི་ཁྲིམས་ར་རྒྱས་ས།

⁷⁹འོག་ཐང་ནི་མ་ཨ་ཁུའི་བོར་སྐྱོར་ས།

⁸⁰རྟ་པོ་གཡུང་བྱང་གྱེན་འབྱིལ།

⁸¹གཙང་རྒྱན་སྟོན་པོ་གྱེན་འབྱིལ།

⁸²གཞན་དང་མི་འདྲ་བ།

⁸³གང་དང་མི་མཉམ་པའི་ས་ཆ།

⁸⁴འདི་ཡི་ལོ་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཙམ་རེ་བཤད་ན།

⁸⁵ཤར་ནི་ཉི་སྒོ་ཕྱེ་འདྲ།

⁸⁶སྒོ་ནི་མོར་བྱ་སྐྱངས་འདྲ།

⁸⁷བྱང་ནི་དགུ་སྒོ་དམ་འདྲ།

⁸⁸ལུ་བ་ནི་དར་དཀར་བརྒྱངས་འདྲ།

⁸⁹ས་ཆ་འདི་ཡི་ལོ་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱུས་ཙམ་བཤད་ན་དཔེ་དེ་ལྟར་རེད་ལ།

The eighth verse praised villagers and village leaders for their skill at dancing and horse racing and expressed the wish

that villagers would obey their leaders and continue behaving well throughout the remainder of the New Year celebrations.

⁹⁰མང་བརྒྱ་མང་སྟོང་ལྷག་གི་ཅི་མེད་དུ།

⁹¹འདིར་མགོ་བེད་མན་ཆད་དང་།

⁹²སྤྱི་པ་དང་ལས་བྱེད་པ་ཚུན་ཆད་དུ།

⁹³ཆོས་པ་བརྒྱ་གསུམ་ཉིན་ལ་སྒྲིག་ཁྲིམས་བཞག་པ་ལྟར་དུ།

⁹⁴དགའ་པའི་སྤྱི་ལེན།

⁹⁵སྤྱིད་ཀྱི་ཐོ་འཁམ་།

⁹⁶མཚོགས་པའི་ཏྲ་རྒྱལ།

⁹⁷(ཅིད་འཛོ་རྣམས་ཆད་ལྷག་མེད་པའི་དུས་འདི་ལ།

⁹⁸ང་ཆོ་གན་པོ་ཆང་མ་སེམས་གཏིང་ནས་དགའ་སྟོ་བྱུང་པར་ཅན་དེ་ལྟར་ཡོད།

⁹⁹ད་དུས་འདི་ལ་ཐུག་དུས།

¹⁰⁰ད་རུང་པར་ལ་ཞག་མ་ལྷ་བཞེ་དུག་གསུམ།

¹⁰¹དེ་རིང་གི་སྒྲིག་ལམ་ལྟར།

¹⁰²འདིར་ཆོགས་ནམ་པ།

¹⁰³ལངས་ཟེར་ན་ག་ཞེ་ལག།

¹⁰⁴འདུག་ཟེར་ན་བྱིང་ཞེ་ལག།

¹⁰⁵ཆེ་ཁ་རྒྱང་གིས་ཉན།

¹⁰⁶གྲོས་ཁ་གྲོས་ཀྱིས་ཉན།

¹⁰⁷ལས་ཀ་བྱེད་རྒྱ་རེ་བ་ཆེ་གི།

The ninth verse named the villagers who made donations to the dancers and detailed their donations.

¹⁰⁸མང་བརྒྱ་མང་སྟོང་ཅི་མེད་དུ།

¹⁰⁹བང་སྤྱད་བྱུང་ཆེན་གདན་སྟོང་འདི་ལ།

¹¹⁰ལོ་རྒྱུང་ཐམས་ཅད་འདུས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ལ།

¹¹¹རྒྱད་པོ་ནམས་ཀྱིས་གྲོས་ར་མི་གཏིང་ནས་བྱེད།

¹¹²ལོ་རྒྱུང་རྒྱུང་ཅིད་ར་རྒྱན་བྱེད།

¹¹³དེ་ནས་རི་ནང་ནས་ཨ་བེད་དང་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གཉིས་སྟོར་བརྒྱ་རེ།

- 114 ཐང་ཆེན་སྒྲིང་གི་ཨ་ཆོ་དང་ནོར་བུ་ལྟ་བུ་གཉིས་སྒོར་ལྔ་བཅུ་རེ།
 115 འདིར་ཚོགས་ནུམ་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ།
 116 བང་སྒྲད་པ་ལ་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་གྱི་ཚུལ་དུ།
 117 ཏྲ་མེད་དེ་རྟེའི་ཁ་མདའ།
 118 མཛོ་མེད་དེ་མཛོའི་སྒྲ་ཐག།
 119 མེ་རྟོག་རྒྱང་རྒྱང་མཛོད་པའི་རྩམ།
 120 ལྷ་ཤིང་རྒྱང་རྒྱང་རི་རབ་གྱི་རྟེན།
 121 ཡོན་ཆབ་ཁྱུང་རྒྱུ་མཆོ་ཡི་ཚུལ།
 122 དེ་འབྲ་ཅེད་རའི་རྒྱན།
 123 དེ་འབྲ་ཡོངས་སུ་དག་པ་ཞིག་བྱེད་དུས།
 124 ཁོ་ཆོ་དགའ་སྤྱིའི་ངང་ནས།
 125 ད་ལ་ཅེ་འཛོམས་སང་ཡང་འཛོམས།
 126 སང་ཡང་ཡང་འཛོམས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ།

The tenth verse described and praised *dar dkar*.

- 127 མཇལ་དར་ཉིན་མོ་བདེ་ལེགས་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྒྱང་ཙམ་བཤད་ན།
 128 རྒྱ་ཡུལ་མི་མཚོག་ཁ་བདེ་ཡིས་སྒོ་དྲན།
 129 རྒྱ་བཟའ་ལྷ་ལྷམ་སྒོལ་མས་ཐབས་དྲན།
 130 ཐབས་དང་རྩ་འཕྱལ་གྱིས་སྒོ་ནས་དར་བཏགས།
 131 ད་དར་མགོ་ཨ་སྒོན་དགྲང་ལ་བྱག།
 132 ཨ་སྒོན་དགྲང་ལས་མཐོ་མེད།
 133 དར་སྒྲིང་རྩི་རྩེ་བྲག་ལ་བྱག།
 134 ཆོ་སྒྲིང་རྩི་རྩེ་བྲག་ལས་སྤྲ་མེད།
 135 དར་འདབས་གཙང་རྒྱའི་རྒྱན་ལ་བྱག།
 136 མི་ཆོ་གཙང་རྒྱ་རྒྱན་ལས་རིང་མེད།

The final verse expressed the wish that all villagers would be healthy and prosperous and that their livestock would be free of disease.

- 137 ད་བང་སྒྲད་པ་ནུམས་དགའ་ཞིང་འཛོམས་པའི་མཐའ་མར།

- 138 མི་ལོ་བརྩ་གསུམ་རྩ་ལོ་བརྩ་བཞི་རང་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་ཅ་ལྔ་ལོ་བརྩ།
 139 ལྷོང་གི་མི་ལ་ན་ཚ་མེད།
 140 འོག་གི་ཚོག་ལ་གོད་ལ་མེད།
 141 ཡུལ་ལ་ཆག་འཛིག་མེད།
 142 བཅན་དར་ཕྱག་གསུམ་འཛོམས།
 143 དར་རྒྱ་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པའི་རྟགས་དང་རྟེན་འབྲེལ།
 144 བདག་གི་རྒྱ་དང་རྩོན་ལམ་དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན་ལགས།

dzog 'WEDDING SPEECHES'

Wedding Speech One

This wedding speech was performed by A lca in 2008 during Bsod nam's zla ba (b. 1988, ri na Village) and Bkra shis chos sgrol's (b. 1985, ri na Village) wedding held in ri na Village. Their marriage was an arranged endogamous wedding. Their families bought a house for them, which they lived in for six months before holding a simple wedding in their new home. A lca gave this speech reviewing what the two families had given the couple. The first four verses were Tibetan and the remainder of the speech was in Mi nyag. The entire speech is transcribed in IPA.

Lines ranged between two and nineteen syllables. The orator often repeated the phrase *tɕʰɜ dʒ tɕʰɜ kʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ*, a formal version of 'then' only used in orations. It was repeated in the middle and sometimes at the beginning of verses. There are thirty verses of varying length in this speech, divided according to content. The orator sometimes paused between verses, and orated loudly throughout the speech, using many Tibetan proverbs and honorifics, and frequent hyperbole. The 330 lines of this speech took fifteen minutes to orate. Before giving the speech, the orator

sat on a chair near the central pillar, and after coughing to get the audience's attention, stretched a *dar dkar* between his hands, stood, and began orating.

In the first verse the orator asked all elders, women, and men to pay attention. While speaking, he stretched a *dar dkar* between his outstretched hands and faced the men, who were seated separately from the women.

¹wə nɔ pa t^hom tɕe ɡɜ le s^hɔ
²da te ɡə tɕ^he rə rge s^həm
³ʏɔ ɡə ma daŋ ʔa ʂə
⁴ba ɡə bə sar bə mɔ
⁵diŋ ts^hu nɔ pa t^hom tɕe də
⁶t^hu rna rne ze ʒi
⁷t^hu s^he də ʔe ze ʒi la

In the second verse the orator stated that holding the wedding on that day fulfilled both families' wishes.

⁸da de raŋ ɡə doŋ lə t^hu nə ʏa nə
⁹ri na s^ha den ɡə ti lə
¹⁰ɕɔw ʒɔw ts^hoŋ daŋ noŋ woŋ k^haw ni
¹¹s^ham pi ɡə ne ne də lə lə s^hoŋ zə rɛ
¹²ts^hɛ pi gi gi də li la dza zə rɛ
¹³da ts^hi la tɕ^he ɡə ɡər p^hu
¹⁴ts^hi la daw ɡə t^hɔ tsi wa
¹⁵tam ke ʒa rɛ x^he nə ʏaw nə
¹⁶x^he rʒə mə ʒi ʒə də ʒɔ pa ta s^hɔ rɛ tɛ ne

The orator then described and praised the bride's and groom's families.

¹⁷da k^haw ni ɡə ts^hɔ zu ruw ne nbə raw
¹⁸dɜ ts^hɔ k^hi k^hə tɕ^hi nə ze gi də
¹⁹k^haw ni də tɕ^ha tɕɛ dzo pɔ ɡə nɔ
²⁰p^ha zoŋ ma zoŋ ɡə bə ʒɜ
²¹nɔ pa zaŋ poŋ ɡə dʒa rɛ ɡɔ ne

He then stated that he would make a brief speech because he did not want to waste time.

²²dε gε p^hɔ̌ gə k^ha da ni ze p^ha tɕ^he mə ts^hə
²³dε tam pε t^hen zə ndzə ndzə
²⁴ndzə mə na ts^hɔ̌ k^ha da zə wa
²⁵nɔ̌ pæ t^ham tɕε gə
²⁶s^hə pɔ̌ t^hu ɕε tɕuw x^he
²⁷bə za bə mɔ̌ nɔ̌ pa t^hom tɕε gə
²⁸tse ɕε tɕuw x^hε
²⁹p^ha tɕ^h di tɕ^hɜ̌ jɔ̌ wu me re la

The orator stood from the start of the speech until this point, and then sat on a chair by the central pillar.

The orator then explained that because all the wedding guests understood Mi nyag he would speak Mi nyag instead of Tibetan. He placed his hands palm-down on his thighs and held the *dar dkar* while speaking.

³⁰wɔ̌ ja
³¹da nɔ̌ pa zə ka dε
³²bə ɕɜ̌ ŋə ma tɕε
³³t^hu nɔ̌ də a rne ʏɜ̌ ʔε
³⁴tɕ^hi la tɕ^hε gɔ̌ je ə dɜ̌ me ŋə ma tɕε
³⁵bə ki vɜ̌ x^hɔ̌ ri ndzi a ɕɕ də mɜ̌ ji
³⁶mɜ̌ ts^hə bə ki vɜ̌ ri ndzi də ja la gə və
³⁷k^hu zə bə ki vɜ̌ nɔ̌ŋ k^ha da və x^hɔ̌ nə ŋɜ̌
³⁸tɕ^hi da ɕoŋ gə tu la gɜ̌ və
³⁹ts^hɔ̌ ʒɜ̌ pɔ̌ ŋe x^hu ʏə a s^hoŋ s^hoŋ ca
⁴⁰bə ki və ndoŋ və nɔ̌ŋ
⁴¹k^ha rdɕ nə və la gə və
⁴²nə tɕ^hi tə s^he p^ha tɕ^hε rdze mə ts^hə
⁴³k^ha tɕ^hə gə dε də nɔ̌

In the next verse, the orator described and praised the bride's parents.

⁴⁴ tɕʰi da ɕoŋ gə tu la gə və
⁴⁵ ɕʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ ri na Gəw ɕəw də rə noŋ woŋ nə kʰu ma
⁴⁶ tɕʰi sʰə pi gə nɛ nɛ də lə lə
⁴⁷ tsʰe pi gə gi de li la dʒa noŋ ɣə rə
⁴⁸ tɕʰi nə kʰu ma ɣə kʰu zə
⁴⁹ xʰe xʰe xʰe ni gu nə ŋə
⁵⁰ xʰe xʰe xʰe ni gu də nə
⁵¹ da Gəw ɕəw ə dɜ ŋə ma tɕɛ
⁵² pʰa kʰu ri kʰu ɣə lə ɕə ɕə nɜ xʰi la gə və
⁵³ tɕʰə dɜ ɣə tɕʰə kʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ
⁵⁴ Gəw ɕəw ɕa tsʰe ə də gə dɜ
⁵⁵ ŋa ɕoŋ boŋ tɛ sʰa nɛ ɣə ti kʰa lu sʰa nɛ ɣə ti
⁵⁶ pʰa tsʰe bə ri kʰar tsʰe də ri
⁵⁷ Gəw ɕəw ə də wu ŋə ma tɕɛ
⁵⁸ pʰa tɕʰi woŋ dɜ sʰe rdzɜ
⁵⁹ bə tɕʰi woŋ dɜ sʰe rdzɜ ɣə
⁶⁰ tɕʰə dɜ tɕʰə kʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ
⁶¹ a sʰe ɬə mə ruw pa ɣə
⁶² tɕʰə dɜ tɕʰə kʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ
⁶³ ɣlu ɕa ri tse dʒa ri
⁶⁴ deŋ pa woŋ gə tu la gə və
⁶⁵ tɕʰi sʰə ŋe nə ŋə
⁶⁶ ə də me ŋə ma tɕɛ
⁶⁷ ma kʰu ɣə lə ɕə nɜ xʰi la gə və
⁶⁸ tɕʰə dɜ tɕʰə kʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ
⁶⁹ pʰa ri mə ndʒa doŋ ri ka boŋ
⁷⁰ doŋ tɕʰə ɕoŋ bə ɕi ma kʰə ɣə
⁷¹ pʰa zoŋ ma zoŋ gə bə ɕə
⁷² rnam pa ɕaŋ poŋ dʒa rɛ ŋə ɬə gə tu la gə və deŋ pa tɕʰi sʰə
 nɜ ŋə

He then described and praised the groom's parents.

⁷³ tɕʰə də ŋa noŋ ɣə a tsʰe ɣə
⁷⁴ pʰa kʰu nə xʰi la gə və gə wa
⁷⁵ ma kʰu nə xʰi la gə və ri na a sʰoŋ woŋ
⁷⁶ ma ri mə ndʒa ɕə ri ŋə pə

⁷⁷jə gə ɣoŋ ge s^{hi} ma k^{h3} ɣə
⁷⁸p^{ha} zaŋ ma zaŋ ɣə bə jə
⁷⁹am pa zaŋ po ɣə dʒa re ŋə ɬə dʒ
⁸⁰ta s^{ha} ce ɣə rə mɔ
⁸¹jə s^{ha} ce ɣə lu t^{huw} ɬoŋ la gə və
⁸²deŋ pa tɕ^{hi} s^{hə} dʒ ŋə

In this and the following seven verses, the orator described the bride's dowry...

⁸³da ŋə ɣə di tse ŋə ma tɕe
⁸⁴Gow ɟow ŋə ma tɕe
⁸⁵mi ŋə ma tɕe mi tu nə ŋə
⁸⁶ɕ^{hə} ɣə la zə le de ka wa ki s^{hɔ} ne kə və lu
⁸⁷ts^{hɔ} zə pɔ ɣə s^{ha} ne ɣə ti x^{hɔ} ɟɔ x^{hɔ} də ma tɕe
⁸⁸x^{hɔ} ŋe x^{hɔ} dʒ ma tsu də ŋə
⁸⁹tɕ^{hə} də tɕ^{hɔ} k^{hi}
⁹⁰x^{ha} x^{hu} mu la mu də k^{hə} də k^{ha} da və x^{hɔ} nə ŋə
⁹¹tɕ^{h3} dʒ tɕ^{hɔ} k^{hi} ŋə ma tɕe
⁹²mi ŋə ma tɕe mi tu kə və duw raw
⁹³tɕ^{hə} də ɣə ŋə ma tɕe tɕ^{ha}
⁹⁴ka a ki s^{hɔ} ne de və lu ɬa s^{h3} dʒ ɟə la gə və
⁹⁵tɕ^{h3} dʒ tɕ^{hɔ} k^{hi} ŋə ma tɕe

... including the fox-fur hat given to the bride by her family...

⁹⁶mgo ɬa ɬə tɕ^{ha} ni ŋə ma tɕe
⁹⁷ɬa ɟa s^{he} dʒɔ te mu t^{hoŋ} s^{hoŋ} ta s^{he} ɣə
⁹⁸ɬa mɔ tɕ^{huw} s^{hə} ɣə ci pu
⁹⁹tɕ^{h3} dʒ tɕ^{hɔ} k^{hi} ŋə ma tɕe

...all the ornaments given to the bride by her family, including the value of each...

¹⁰⁰zə goŋ ke ɟe ɬoŋ gə tu la gə və
¹⁰¹ja k^{hoŋ} noŋ ɣə ni zɔŋ k^{hoŋ} noŋ ɣə tɕ^{huw}
¹⁰²tɕ^{h3} dʒ tɕ^{hɔ} k^{hi} ŋə ma tɕe

¹⁰³Gow jow nə ma tce də ʃʌ rdzə ʏə ʃə tsa də ne
¹⁰⁴zə gonj rni mu s^he t^huw də gi rdzə ʏə
¹⁰⁵zæ konj gu ɲa rdze gi gə də ʃə
¹⁰⁶kə rə ti tsonj dʒe gɜ dɜ və la gə və
¹⁰⁷tʃ^hə sonj donj k^ha t^huw gə p^honj dan pa tɕ^hi s^hə nə ɲə
¹⁰⁸x^he rdzə dɜ denj pa ʏuw rdzə dɜ ʃə pə
¹⁰⁹tɕ^hə nonj la la lonj lonj k^ha da nə və la gə və
¹¹⁰dʒonj ca di dʒonj ze ma ti nə ɲə
¹¹¹bə ɕə ɲə ma tce Gow jow la zə le dɜ
¹¹²ki wu kə lu ʃə ts^han konj gə tu la gə və
¹¹³zə gonj ɲə ma tce tɕ^ha di
¹¹⁴zæ konj gu ɲu s^hə də a tɕ^ha də zə gonj ni mu nə ɲə
¹¹⁵tɕ^hɜ dɜ tʃ^hɔ k^hi ɲə ma tce tɕ^ha di
¹¹⁶na konj gə tu la gə və
¹¹⁷s^hə ʃa buw ma buw ʏə
¹¹⁸tɕ^hɜ dɜ tʃ^hɔ k^hi ɲə ma tce denj
¹¹⁹na konj gə tu la gə və tɕ^hi s^hə nə ɲə
¹²⁰tɕ^hi zə gonj dʒuw konj gə tu ne zonj te
¹²¹dʒuw ɲə ma tce tʃə pa nu zə gonj
¹²²s^hə now du ʏə zə gonj nonj ʏə zə gonj
¹²³pe xɜ s^henj t^huw də gi rdzə ʏə
¹²⁴zə gonj ɲə ma tce pe x^hə su duw nə ɲə
¹²⁵dʒuw konj gə tu la gə və a tɔnj nda nuw gə dɜ ʃə
¹²⁶denj pa tɕ^hi s^hə nə ɲə
¹²⁷tɕ^hə də nonj ni zə gonj konj gə tu la gə və
¹²⁸ni x^ha zə gonj a duw de və ʃə
¹²⁹p^ha tɕ^he ɲə ma tce s^he naw du ʏə kɜ ʃe du ma s^hɔ tɕə s^hɔ tsi
¹³⁰t^hæ wa zə tʌ juw zə gonj ge ʃe ʏonj gə tu la gə və
¹³¹denj pa tɕ^hi s^hə nə ɲə
¹³²tɕ^hɜ dɜ tʃ^hɔ k^hi ɲə ma tce
¹³³ge ʃenj də rə tɕ^hə də na konj zə rə pə x^hɜ
¹³⁴ɲə ma tce ndʒɔ ji tɕ^hi s^hə nə ɲə

...the clothes given to the bride by her family, and the value of each...

¹³⁵tɕ^hə tʃ^he tɕ^ha di

¹³⁶gi gɔ rdze kɔŋ gə tu nɜ zɔŋ te
¹³⁷tʃʰu ra xʰe ma tʃʰu nɔŋ gə o du pɔŋ tʃʰu ne
¹³⁸tʃʰɜ dɜ tʃʰɔ kʰi nɔ ma tʃɛ tʃʰa di
¹³⁹ja gæ yə ji ma ʎa sʰu yə zɛ ma
¹⁴⁰tʰe nɔŋ ja tʰə rə ra xʰe ma kɔŋ ʎa juw rdze gə
¹⁴¹da bə gɔ na rə yə di tse nɔŋ gə tsʰu tsə kʰə a ka də mɜ ji
¹⁴²mə tsʰa tsə tsʰa ma sʰe yə pʰi he kɔŋ gə tu ne
¹⁴³gə tsʰu kɔŋ gə tu ne deŋ pa tʃʰi sʰə nə nɔ
¹⁴⁴bɔŋ deŋ nɔ ne zu deŋ mɔɔ ge ja pʰu bɔŋ deŋ xʰa tsi
¹⁴⁵zə cə ŋa cə pʰɔ yə bɔŋ deŋ sɔŋ ʎa gə
¹⁴⁶də lu jə tsʰen kɔŋ gə tu la gə və tʃʰi sʰə nə nɔ

... the kitchen utensils given to the new couple by the bride's family...

¹⁴⁷tʃʰə də nɔŋ ni nɔ ma tʃɛ ʔɔ mə a tʃʰa tʃʰə tʃʰɔ kʰi
¹⁴⁸bi a tʃʰa ʎə bu a tʃʰa a gɔŋ a tʃʰa
¹⁴⁹ruw sʰuw a tʃʰa ha jɔŋ suw a tʃʰa
¹⁵⁰tʃʰɜ dɜ nɔŋ ni nɔ ma tʃɛ
¹⁵¹zɔŋ zɔŋ nɔ ma tʃɛ na zɔŋ nə du rdzɔ ri gə də
¹⁵²tʃʰə sʰə ka wa ki sʰɔ ʎaw gə tʃʰa jɔŋ sʰə tsʰə pa
¹⁵³tʃʰaw tʃʰu maw tɔŋ ne ŋa nə ra ka
¹⁵⁴ŋəŋ mi ŋəŋ ɟə sʰe nə nɔ
¹⁵⁵xʰi a jə tʃʰə ma gə mə tsʰa
¹⁵⁶e tʃʰe dɜ za gɔ ne da rə

... the cushions given to the new couple by the bride's family...

¹⁵⁷ra bi kʰə ʎə sʰɔ pa kɔŋ ra bi a tʃʰa
¹⁵⁸tʃʰi pʰu ge kɔŋ gə tu ne ne ne sʰɔŋ sʰɔŋ nə nɔ

... the livestock given to the new couple by the bride's family...

¹⁵⁹tʃʰi gɔ zu sʰe ce kɔŋ gə tu la gə və ŋɜ tʃʰe tɔŋ sʰɔŋ nə nɔ
¹⁶⁰tʃʰi kʰa ku gə sʰe kɔŋ la gə və tsə tsə dzəŋ me yə
¹⁶¹deŋ pa gɔ lu kɔŋ gə tu la gə və tʃʰi sʰə nə nɔ

... and the barley and wheat grain given to the new couple
by the bride's family.

¹⁶²tɕʰi rdzə sʰe tʰə sʰe ɕoŋ gə tu la gə və

¹⁶³ka wa ki sʰɔ pʰa mi tʰi noŋ ɣə

¹⁶⁴tɕʰi nə kʰu ma ju a nə pu ʒɔ nə a ŋə pu deŋ pa nə ŋə

The next verse praised the two families and summarized
what each gave the new couple.

¹⁶⁵nə kʰu ma tɕʰa ce dɜ pʰa ma ja raw pʰa ʃoŋ

¹⁶⁶mə ja raw pʰa ʃoŋ noŋ nə ŋə

¹⁶⁷rdzi ja raw nə ŋə dzu pu ŋə ne sʰe te dɜ ri tɕʰi sʰə nə ŋə

¹⁶⁸ki vu kʰa tɕʰə ɣaw tɕʰaw mi kə gu ni

¹⁶⁹nə kʰu ma də ɡɔ ge tɕʰə tsi doŋ tu ŋa re ŋa re ʃoŋ noŋ

¹⁷⁰tɕʰə sʰoŋ kʰe ba le tʰoŋ nɔ ca tɕʰə xʰə noŋ

¹⁷¹kʰoŋ ti xʰe buw sɔ gə sʰe ɕoŋ gə tu ne

¹⁷²xɔ mə sʰe ɕoŋ gə tu ne

¹⁷³ga ji ji ma ji ji də və

¹⁷⁴da ŋa nə kʰa la kʰi coŋ ʃuw gə te

¹⁷⁵ʃɔ də ʃɔ a ʰə ʃɔ tɕʰə ma gə

¹⁷⁶ʃuw ʃə da rə kʰa dzɔŋ ʒə də gə ʃuw gə tɜ

¹⁷⁷kʰa tɕʰə gə mi sʰɔ gə

¹⁷⁸tɕʰi zoŋ po ŋe pa ra ka ga tʰə gə xʰi xʰə rdzu noŋ

¹⁷⁹ga dza gə a ɣə mi ti gə

The orator then introduced the gifts from the groom's family,
first explaining that the groom's family gave half of their
property to the new couple.

¹⁸⁰da noŋ ɕoŋ ka wa ki sʰɔ kə lu kʰa da gə nə və la gə və

¹⁸¹sʰə loŋ da wa ɣə ka wa ki sʰɔ kə ri di tsi tɕʰa

¹⁸²pʰoŋ raw roŋ zoŋ doŋ pɔ ci ke nə ŋə

¹⁸³tɕʰə dɜ tɕʰə kʰi ŋə ma tɕe tɕʰa ni

The orator then detailed the gifts given by the groom's family
to the bride, beginning with the fox-fur hat...

¹⁸⁴mɡɔ ɕa lə tɕʰa ni

¹⁸⁵tɕʰə də tɕʰɔ kʰi ʒə ɡoŋ ʒa ʁoŋ ɡu ŋu rdze ma tʰa tʰa ne daw
¹⁸⁶ɡoŋ ɡə rə cə vɜ la ɡə və tɕʰə ni ne sʰɔ pʰoŋ nə ŋə
¹⁸⁷da rə tʰe wa zə ʎa juw

...then the clothes...

¹⁸⁸tɕʰə tɕʰa ni ɡi ɡɔ ze ʁoŋ ɡə tu la ɡə və
¹⁸⁹tsʰa rə woŋ ɡə tu ne tɕʰu woŋ ɡə tu ne
¹⁹⁰xʰə tsʰɔ ni pu ʏə tɕa kʰa je də ʒi
¹⁹¹xʰə tsʰɔ sʰa pu ʏə tɕa kʰa je də ʒi

...the cushions...

¹⁹²ra bi ni mu o doŋ poŋ ʁoŋ ɡoŋ tɕa ʁoŋ a tɕʰa
¹⁹³tɕʰɜ dɜ tɕʰɔ kʰi ŋə ma tɕe ʏdzj dʒa ma ʁoŋ a tɕʰa
¹⁹⁴bi a tɕʰa sʰa fa a ɡə
¹⁹⁵da tɕʰu tsʰa rə kʰa da və tuw
¹⁹⁶da ɡi ɡɔ ze ʁoŋ ɡə tu la ɡə və
¹⁹⁷tɕʰə tɕʰɔ kʰi tsə tsʰa ma sʰe ʏə dɜ kʰə
¹⁹⁸ja kʰoŋ noŋ ʏə ni zɔŋ kʰoŋ noŋ ʏə tɕʰuw
¹⁹⁹tɕʰe tɕʰə tsʰoŋ də da lə ŋɜ ma tɕe
²⁰⁰zə ə də ŋə ma tɕe kʰɔ xʰɔ
²⁰¹nə ʃa le mɛ rə ti ne rə ti ŋə
²⁰²di tse ŋə ma tɕe tɕʰa di ʏə

...and the ornaments.

²⁰³sʰe ʏə luw tɕi kʰɜ ŋə ma tɕe ʒɜ tɕʰə juw dʒu ʒə kʰə ɡə dɜ
²⁰⁴xʰa ne nu ri kʰɔ ʎə deŋ pa ʁoŋ ɡə tu la ɡə və tɕʰi sʰɜ dɜ ŋɜ
²⁰⁵bə ɡɔ na rə sʰa ɡoŋ ɡa tɕʰi nɜ ŋə
²⁰⁶ta sʰa rə moŋ ʏʒə sʰa lu tʰuw
²⁰⁷kʰə ʒoŋ ʁoŋ ɡɔ ɡe ni ʒa doŋ dzə tɕə dɜ ŋə
²⁰⁸tɕʰə sʰoŋ doŋ kʰa ʎaw ɡə rɜ vi ɡə tɛ ne
²⁰⁹xa ne nu ri kʰɔ ʎə ʒə tse ʁoŋ ɡə tu la ɡə və tɕʰi sʰə nə ŋə
²¹⁰sʰe noŋ kɔ ʒə kʰə ʒə ɡi ʒa və a tɕe də ʒɔ vɜ tɕɜ xaw xaw
²¹¹raw ni kʰe ɡə tʰɔ noŋ ʏə raw rdzə dzə ʒoŋ mi ʒə ʒə ɡə dɜ ʒə
²¹²tɕʰə də tɕʰɔ kʰi ŋə ma tɕe buw ku ʁoŋ ɡə tu ne zɔŋ tɛ
²¹³da tɕaw dɜ rə noŋ lu pa tɕɜ pa nu la tɕu woŋ də ʒi tɕʰɔ mɜ

nə ɲə

²¹⁴ɲa nə rag a dɜ tɕʰi sʰə tɕi dɜ lɔ

²¹⁵baw ku ɲon ɲə ne kə lu jə tse

²¹⁶dɛŋ pa tɕʰi sʰə nə ɲə tɕʰi ɲə yə di tse

The orator next praised the two families again, stating that each family had a large kin network, and thanked all the guests for coming.

²¹⁷ri na sʰa daŋ yə ti ne dza tʰon sʰɔ ɲon ɲə ne zon te

²¹⁸tɕʰi ɲə ma tɕe tɕʰa di da ə dɜ nɜ ka ɲon gə tu la gə və

²¹⁹don ni ɲə ma tɕe o don pɔ non ni o don pɔ ti gə

²²⁰tɕʰi da bɔ gɔ na rə ɲə ma ce

²²¹dzɔ va ɲeŋ te dzɔ lu zon dzɔ lu sʰe gə tʰa pa

²²²tsi gi nə nɜ kʰu ma də ne xu tɕʰi gə

²²³jɔ zə gə nə xʰe zə gə tɕʰa ra ka gi sʰə gə ti tɕʰa

²²⁴rdzə won ɲon gi ɲə ne ɲɔ jɔ dɛ jɔ ɲə

²²⁵kʰa da ɲon gə tu la gə və non dɛ tɕʰi sʰə nə ɲə

The orator then implied that the groom's family was wealthier than the bride's as they spent 55,000 RMB purchasing the couple's house. While speaking, the orator gestured with his right arm raised and hand upturned.

²²⁶da non won gə tu la gə və xa ma tɕe rə mon jon ni

²²⁷da ɲə ma tɕe law kʰa tɕʰa non ɲon də dɜ

²²⁸tɕʰa ce tɕʰa non ɲon də dɜ

²²⁹ʒɜ ɲə ma ce ba tɕʰe ɬe dzu yə kə bɛ ɬa dze də ɲɜ jɔ tɕʰa

²³⁰yon ə də ɲon tɕʰə ɬa tɕʰə də nɔ non ɲə ma tɕe

²³¹ɬon ɬə kɔ gɔ ge tɕʰə tsi don tu ɲa

²³²tɕʰa gɔ ge tɕʰə ɲa don tu ɲa jɔ kʰa gə də

²³³ka sʰi tʰon sʰi tɕʰə də tɕʰɔ kʰi ɲə ma tɕe

²³⁴ji yə ɲə ma xa ne te sʰa tɕʰə ɲon gə tu la gə və tɕʰi sʰə nə

ɲə

²³⁵tɕʰə rdze mə tsʰa kʰa da ga tɕʰi a rdzə yə muw ɬuw

He then expressed good wishes for the bride and groom's

future.

²³⁶da bə x^hə ɤŋ gə tu la gə və
²³⁷tʃa xi ts^hi ts^hi me loŋ ts^hi ni rdze p^ha tɕ^hɛ mə ts^hə
²³⁸tɕ^hi k^ha da ɤŋ nə ma tɕɛ toŋ ja ts^hi ja ga t^hə ku noŋ
²³⁹ŋa nə ra ka ha tɕi k^hə nə ts^hi tə s^he
²⁴⁰rdze p^ha tɕ^hə mə ts^ha a hə de də nə tɛ

The orator then stood and asked the bride and groom to approach him.

²⁴¹tɕ^hi da ɤŋ gə tu nə di la gə və
²⁴²ha s^hə ŋə jə tɕ^ha tɕ^hi tɕ^hə də ts^hə k^hi ŋə ma tɕɛ tɕ^ha di
²⁴³ŋa noŋ ŋə ma tɕɛ tɕ^ha di moŋ ʃe
²⁴⁴də rə s^hə loŋ da wa ne ŋə ma tɕɛ ə me nə ɭa

An audience member then told the orator that he had forgotten to mention a part of the bride's dowry, and so the orator described the ornaments given by the bride's family that he had forgotten to mention.

²⁴⁵Gəw ʃəw wəŋ tɕ^hə də ts^hə k^hi ŋə ma tɕɛ di
²⁴⁶loŋ loŋ ɤŋ gə tu ne tɕ^ha ma ɤŋ gə tu ne
²⁴⁷s^he ʏə tɕ^hə s^hi ŋə ma tɕɛ gə ge ts^hə tsi doŋ toŋ ŋa rdze x^hə
k^hə
²⁴⁸ne tɕ^he de za ʔəŋ də k^ha da tɕ^hə də ʏə ɭaw rdzə
²⁴⁹s^he tɕ^hə ʃi də ŋə ma tɕɛ tɕ^ha di
²⁵⁰k^he s^hə tɕə t^hə pa k^he tə noŋ
²⁵¹ʒə goŋ k^he da ka ʃe tɕ^ha nə ŋə
²⁵²doŋ ni da ka s^he ʏə tɕ^hə s^hi ɤŋ ʏə nə ŋə tɛ
²⁵³ma ʃi nə s^ha gə ca di nə ŋə
²⁵⁴Gəw ʃəw wəŋ s^ha gə s^he naw doŋ nə ŋə
²⁵⁵ʒə goŋ k^he pe tɕ^ha k^ha da tɕ^hi s^hə nə ŋə
²⁵⁶tɕ^hi pow ku ɤŋ gə tu ne la loŋ ɤŋ gə tu ne
²⁵⁷ts^hə ʏbə ɤŋ gə tu ne x^he ma ʃi pa nə ŋə
²⁵⁸tɕ^hi k^ha la k^hi tɕ^həŋ ɭaw gə də ʃəw
²⁵⁹tɕ^hi ŋə ma tɕɛ tɕ^ha ha də k^hə də
²⁶⁰ʏdə kə rə də tɕ^ha mɔ li tɕ^ha ts^həŋ rdzə p^ha tɕ^he mə ts^ha

²⁶¹ tɕʰi n̩ə na tɕe kʰa ʔi na ʔi a ɣə mi ɔ

²⁶² tɕʰi ha də kʰə də kʰu ʔə ɔŋ gə tu və deŋ pa tɕʰi sʰə də n̩ə

The orator next put a *dar dkar* around the groom's neck and told him that he was now responsible for his family. He then wished that the groom would become wealthier, more powerful, and extend his kin network. He also described how the groom was a good child, and would continue to behave well in the future. While speaking, the orator faced the groom, pointed at him, and occasionally placed his hands on the groom's shoulder.

²⁶³ wɔ ja da sʰə lɔŋ da wa

²⁶⁴ ni tsʰa n̩ə ma tɕe ɔŋ ji ʔə di tse n̩ə ne zu te

²⁶⁵ pʰa ma ʔə kʰa lə ŋe kʰə ʔə ŋaw lə tɕʰə kʰə ʔə

²⁶⁶ ʔɔŋ n̩ə ne zɔŋ te ni tsʰa ʔə n̩ə ma tɕe

²⁶⁷ nə ɕa ja raw də zɔŋ də zɔŋ la gə və

²⁶⁸ ni nu ri n̩ə ma tɕe nə ɕa də zɔŋ ʔə də də kʰe

²⁶⁹ tɕʰi pʰa ma n̩ə ne xʰa ne nə n̩ə ni nu ri n̩ə ma tɕe

²⁷⁰ dzɔ zɔŋ i sʰə gə və tɕʰa

²⁷¹ ni n̩ə ne zɔŋ teŋ dzɔ sʰə dzɔ ga nə n̩ə

²⁷² nə ɕa o doŋ pɔ la ndzɪ tɕʰə tɕʰə kʰi tɕʰa tɕe

²⁷³ də lu ɔŋ gə tu la gə və ʔə tsʰe tɕʰi sʰə nə n̩ə

²⁷⁴ da ni tsʰa ɔŋ gə tu la gə və

²⁷⁵ ti gə n̩ə ɔŋ na tsʰa ma sʰe

²⁷⁶ ʔə gə zu ɔŋ gə kʰa ma sʰe

²⁷⁷ ta ɔŋ tɕʰə wa ma sʰe

²⁷⁸ ʔə ɔŋ pʰe dzu ma sʰe

²⁷⁹ bə ji tsʰa sʰam dzam

²⁸⁰ tsʰa a ʔɔŋ ndə lə rgen nɔŋ ʔə rə

²⁸¹ ne dza tʰɔŋ sʰə ʔə kʰə sʰa te pʰu ʔə sʰe ʔə

²⁸² tɕʰə tɕʰə kʰi n̩ə ma tɕe tɕʰa di ʔə

²⁸³ ŋa a mi ba ca ni ɔŋ te ndzɛ me lɔŋ tɕʰi sʰə n̩ə

The orator then approached the bride, who sat with young village females in a corner of the room. He bent down to the

bride, put a *dar dkar* around her neck, and then stood. He continued his oration by describing the bride in the manner the groom was previously described, and also stated the same wishes for her. While speaking, the orator gestured with raised arms and upturned hands.

²⁸⁴wɔ ja a ɔɔ ni ʏa a k^ha me loŋ ha gə t^huw ne
²⁸⁵ni ts^ha ʏa ŋə ma tɕe
²⁸⁶ʏoŋ ji ʏa di tse tɕ^ha dʒɕ tɕ^he lu ri ʏa ts^ha mə nə ŋə
²⁸⁷nə ɕa ga tɕ^hi gə zoŋ k^huw ci k^hɔ
²⁸⁸s^ha gə mi tɕ^ha ni gɔ ŋa ma t^ha tɕ^ha
²⁸⁹zoŋ pu ŋeŋ pa ʏa di tse tɕ^ha
²⁹⁰da ni ts^ha ʏa ti gə nə ɕoŋ na ts^ha ma
²⁹¹ʏɔ gə zu ɕoŋ gɔ k^ha ma
²⁹²ta ɕoŋ tɕ^hɔ wa ma
²⁹³jə ɕoŋ p^he dʒu ma
²⁹⁴ts^he ri ne me de x^hə p^he s^hoŋ ts^ham noŋ
²⁹⁵bə ji ts^ha s^ham dzam noŋ
²⁹⁶ts^ha a ʏoŋ ndɔ lə rgen
²⁹⁷s^hə pɔ doŋ de mə ʏa ti
²⁹⁸tuw de mɔɔ ni la jə mə tɕ^he
²⁹⁹zi de mɔɔ ni pe jə mə tɕ^he
³⁰⁰ʏə te dʒɕ ɕoŋ gə tu la gə və tɕ^hi s^hə ŋə

As his speech drew to a close, the orator expressed the wish that all villagers would be healthy, their livestock free of disease, and that their living conditions would improve. He approached the central pillar, ready to conclude, while speaking.

³⁰¹ɕ^hiə me ne dʒa t^hoŋ s^hoŋ ʒa ka tsa wa və ri
³⁰²ts^hɔ ʒə pɔ də k^ha tɕ^hə cə t^hɔ pa
³⁰³tɕ^hɜ dʒ tɕ^hɔ k^hi ŋə ma tɕɛ
³⁰⁴tɕ^he mɔɔ s^ha ma tɕ^he
³⁰⁵tɕ^hu ku maw ja tɕ^he ʏə
³⁰⁶tɕ^hɜ dʒ tɕ^hɔ k^hi ŋə ma tɕɛ
³⁰⁷ti gə nə ɕoŋ na ts^ha ma

³⁰⁸γə gə zu ɤŋ gə k^ha ma
³⁰⁹ta ɤŋ tɕ^hɔ wa ma
³¹⁰jə ɤŋ p^he dzu ma
³¹¹nə lɔ tɕə s^həm ɬa lɔ tɕə zə
³¹²rɔŋ lɔ nɜ xə tsa ŋa ji ba dɜ
³¹³s^he gaw dɛ p^he xə gaw dɛ tɕ^he
³¹⁴jɛ x^hu doŋ jɛ s^hə jɛ da γə ti s^he γə te dʒɛ ŋə

The orator then tied a *dar dkar* around the central pillar.

In the final verse, the orator stated that a wealthy family owned the house in the past, and expressed the hope that the new couple would be as wealthy as the previous owners. He also expressed the wish that the new couple would become wealthier and more powerful. While speaking, the orator pointed to the central pillar and at the conclusion gestured with upturned palms to the audience.

³¹⁵tɕ^hi da ka nə mɔ de le ci k^hɔ ɤŋ s^hu s^he
³¹⁶doŋ ni ŋə ma tɕe mə gə ni je gə s^hu də nə ŋə te
³¹⁷da rə ə dɜ mə t^hɜ ne
³¹⁸ci k^hɔ ə də ka wu ɤŋ ŋə ma tɕe
³¹⁹ta s^ha ka mi dɔ te s^ha ja γaw tɕ^ha
³²⁰ŋə γə di tse ŋə ma ce tɕ^ha
³²¹γoŋ ə də γə p^ha kɜ k^hoŋ ge tɕ^ha moŋ
³²²ə də ŋə ma tɕe də poŋ loŋ s^hi ŋə ma ci γoŋ nə ŋə
³²³tɕ^hə də tɕ^hɔ k^hi taw luw γoŋ nə ŋə
³²⁴ma daw goŋ s^həm də dzɔm
³²⁵goŋ la nə ma də x^ha dzə γə γoŋ ŋə tɕ^ha
³²⁶goŋ la nə ma də x^ha dzə γə ɬi noŋ
³²⁷ha ji k^hə də tɕa x^hi dɛ le
³²⁸s^hə po dɛ mɔ γə ti s^he
³²⁹wɔ tɕ^hə də ʔoŋ də k^ha da s^hə
³³⁰tɕ^hə s^hə a jə mə juw nɔm pa t^hɔ tɕe

The audience said, "wɔ le s^hɔ."

The orator then went to a side room to drink and relax. Shortly afterwards the guests began enjoying themselves by singing, dancing, and chatting.

Wedding Speech Two

This wedding speech was given in Tibetan by Dbal chen (b. 1967) on the second day of the marriage between the bride, Dbyangs can (b. 1975, Ske ri Village), and groom Tshe dbang rgyal mtshan (b. 1980, Bang smad Village) in 2009, several weeks before the New Year. The wedding was held in Bang smad Village.

Lines contained five to twenty-two syllables. *Da 'now'* was said often, particularly at the start of verses. The fifteen verses are divided according to content, and, in the oration, were occasionally divided by pauses. The orator spoke loudly throughout the speech, employing metaphors, honorifics, and hyperbole. The 241 lines of this speech took eleven minutes to deliver.

The orator began by making offerings to local deities, to the whole world, to the three protecting lords, to the heaven of the four great kings, and to the five families of the victorious ones.

¹ད་དེ་རིང་མཆོད་གཅིག་དེ་ས་ལྗོ་ཕྱགས་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་ལྷ་གཞི་བདག་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་
མཆོད་མཆོད།

²མཆོད་གཉིས་དེ་མཛམ་གླིང་གྱི་ཡི་དོན་ལ་མཆོད།

³མཆོད་གསུམ་དེ་རིགས་གསུམ་མགོན་པོ་ལ་མཆོད།

⁴མཆོད་བཞི་དེ་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་གྱི་བཞི་ལ་མཆོད།

⁵མཆོད་ལྔ་དེ་རྒྱལ་བ་རིགས་ལྔ་ལ་མཆོད་མཆོད་དོ།

He then stated that the day was auspicious, and asked all

elders, women, men, and audience members to pay attention.

⁶ད་དེ་རིང་རྟགས་ཐམས་ཅད་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་གྱི་རང་བཞིན།།

⁷མདངས་ཐམས་ཅད་ལོ་ཡག་གི་སྟེ་མ།།

⁸ད་དེ་རིང་གལ་མགོ་ལ་ཆེ་རིམ་ཀླན་གསུམ།།

⁹གལ་སྐྱེད་བྱ་ཆ་བྱ་མོ།།

¹⁰མ་ཚད་འདུས་ཆོགས་རྣམས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད།།

¹¹ཐུགས་རྟུང་ཅམ་གཡར་རྒྱ་སྒྲིན་ལམ་ཆོག་གསུམ་རེ་བཏགས།།

The orator then explained why it is important to say *legs so*.

¹²འོ། ལེགས་སོ། ལེགས་སོ། ལེགས་སོ།།

¹³གསོལ་ལོ་གསོལ་ལོ་ལྷ་གསོལ་ལོ།།

¹⁴རྒྱལ་ལོ་རྒྱལ་ལོ་ལྷ་རྒྱལ་ལོ།།

¹⁵གསོལ་ལོ་ལན་གསུམ་མ་ཟེར་ན།།

¹⁶བསང་དུད་གནམ་ལ་མི་འགོ།།

¹⁷རྒྱལ་ལོ་ལན་གསུམ་མ་ཟེར་ན།།

¹⁸རྒྱལ་ཁ་རང་ལ་མི་འཁོར།།

¹⁹བསང་དུད་གནམ་ལ་མ་སོང་ན།།

²⁰མ་མཐའ་འགོ་དགང་འདང་མི་འབྲིང་།།

²¹རྒྱལ་ཁ་རང་ལ་མ་ཐོབ་ན།།

²²གཏམ་ཆོག་འདྲ་མ་མི་འགྲིག།།

²³ཟེར་བའི་དཔེ་དེ་འདྲ་རེད་ལ།།

Next, he described the auspiciousness of the day on which people, deities, and all good things had gathered.

²⁴ད་དེ་རིང་བཟ་ཤིས་ཆོག་གཅིག་སྒྲིན་ལམ་ཆོག་གཉིས་རེ་བཏགས་ན།།

²⁵གནམ་ལ་བཟ་ཤིས་པའི་ཉི་མེ་སྐར་གསུམ།།

²⁶ས་ལ་བཟ་ཤིས་པའི་ལོ་ཡག་སྟེ་མ།།

²⁷བཟ་ཤིས་པའི་ཆེ་རིང་ནད་མེད།།

²⁸སྤྱི་དེ་བཟ་ཤིས་པའི་དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་པོ།།

²⁹ནང་དྲག་བཟ་ཤིས་པའི་ཆོས་རྒྱུང་སྤང་མ།།

- ³⁰མཁའ་འགོ་བཟ་ཤེས་པའི་ཡུལ་ལྷ་གཞི་བདག།
³¹ད་བཟ་ཤེས་པའི་བྱ་མར་བྱར་གསུམ་ལ་སྟོན་ལགས།།
³²ཤར་གྱི་ཉི་མ་སྐལ་བཟང་།།
³³རིང་གི་ཁྲ་བ་ཆོས་གྲོགས་དེ་བཟང་།།
³⁴སྐལ་བཟང་ཆོས་བཟང་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ།།
³⁵མི་མི་འཛོམས་ལྷ་འཛོམས།།
³⁶ལྷ་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པདྨའི་ཞལ་འཛོམས།།
³⁷མར་མེ་ནང་ལ་འོད་འཛོམས།།
³⁸འཁོར་ནང་ལ་ཡུལ་འཛོམས།།
³⁹དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ནང་ལ་ལྷ་འཛོམས།།
⁴⁰བྱམ་པའི་ནང་ལ་རྒྱས་འཛོམས།།
⁴¹འགོ་བའི་ལམ་ལ་འཇའ་འཛོམས།།
⁴²བ་འོ་མའི་ནང་ལ་ཐམས་ཅད་འཛོམས།།
⁴³ཟེར་བའི་དཔེ་དེ་ལྟར་རེད་ལགས།།

In the next verse the orator praised the dancers, comparing male dancers to the shining sun and female dancers to the shining moon. Their decorations were likened to trees in summer, their beauty a rainbow, and their voices to cuckoos'. Finally, the circle of dancers was compared to a lake.

- ⁴⁴ད་དེ་རིང་བློ་ར་གསེར་གྱི་ཁ་མོ་འདི་ཡི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རྩང་ཅམ་བསུས་པ་རེ་བཤད་
 བ།།
⁴⁵ཨོ་ཐམས་ཅད་དཔའ་བོ།།
⁴⁶དཔའ་བོས་ལྷས་ལས་སྟོ་འཁྲབ།།
⁴⁷ཨོ་ཐམས་ཅད་དཔའ་མོ།།
⁴⁸དཔའ་མོས་མགུར་སྒྲ་ལེན།།
⁴⁹དགའ་བའི་སྟོ་རེ་འཁྲབ་རྒྱ་རེད།།
⁵⁰སྦྱིད་པའི་སྒྲ་རེ་ལེན་རྒྱ་རེད།།
⁵¹ལྷ་ལ་དར་གྱིས་གསེལ་རྒྱ་རེད།།
⁵²ལྷ་བསང་གོང་ལ་བཏོང་རྒྱ་རེད།།

⁵³ བོ་མགོ་བོ་དཔོན་གང་མཛེས་གིས།
⁵⁴ བོ་སྒྲིང་གསུང་སྒྲིང་སྒྲན་མོ།
⁵⁵ བོ་འདབས་རྩུང་བོ་འགྲིགས་མོ།
⁵⁶ གཡས་པོ་གཡལ་ལ་བལྟས་ན་ཉི་མ་ཤར་འདྲ།
⁵⁷ གཡོན་མོ་གཡལ་ལ་བལྟས་ན་ཁྲ་བ་ཤར་འདྲ།
⁵⁸ ལྷས་རྒྱན་ཆ་ལ་བལྟས་ན་ཆེ་རྟོག་གཡོ་འདྲ།
⁵⁹ གཟུགས་སྒྲེ་ལྷས་ལ་བལྟས་ན་འཇའ་ཚོན་ཤར་འདྲ།
⁶⁰ ངག་སྒྲན་མོ་ལ་ཉན་ན་ཁུ་བྱག་གསུམ་འདྲ།
⁶¹ གཅིག་གཡལ་ལ་བལྟས་ན་མཚོ་མོ་འབྲིལ་འདྲ།
⁶² ད་དེ་རིང་བོ་ར་གསེར་གྱི་ཕ་མོ་འདིའི་ལོ་རྒྱས་བསྐྱས་པ་ཙམ་རེ་བཤད་ན་དེ་
 འདྲ་རེད་ལ།

The orator then stated that the bride's side donated 133 RMB to the dancers.

⁶³ བང་མྱད་བདེ་སྦྱིད་གོང་བ།
⁶⁴ ཆེད་ར་རྒྱན་ཏེ་ཆེད་མོ་ཡག་གོ།
⁶⁵ གེ་རི་ཚས་འབུམ་ཚང་གི་སྒོར་ཁྲི་བརྒྱ་དང་བཅུ་གསུམ།
⁶⁶ ད་མེ་རྟོག་རྒྱུང་ཡང་མཚོད་པའི་རྩེས།
⁶⁷ ལྷ་བཤོས་རྒྱུང་ཡང་རི་རབ་གྱི་རྟེན།
⁶⁸ ཡོན་ཆབ་རྒྱུང་ཡང་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་རྩེས།
⁶⁹ ཡ་རབས་བྱའི་གནས་བསྐལ།
⁷⁰ སེར་རྩ་མེད་པའི་རྒྱ་རྩེས།
⁷¹ ཡར་དཀོན་མཚོག་ལྷའི་མཚོད་བ།
⁷² མར་སྤང་མོ་དགའ་བའི་སྦྱིན་པ།

He then praised the groom's village (Bang smad) and said that females who leave this village leave their happiness behind while those who come to this village receive happiness.

⁷³ དེ་བང་མྱད་བདེ་སྦྱིད་གོང་བ།

⁷⁴ས་ཡར་བྱག་དེ་རྒྱ་གར་ཁམས་ལ་བྱག།
⁷⁵རྒྱ་གར་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆོས་དབྱངས་ལེན་ས།།
⁷⁶ས་མར་བྱག་དེ་རྒྱ་ནག་ཁམས་ལ་བྱག།
⁷⁷རྒྱ་ནག་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཟས་གཡང་ལེན་ས།།
⁷⁸ས་པར་བྱག་དུ་ཨ་ཆེ་རྟོར་ལ་བྱག།
⁷⁹ཨ་ཆེ་རྟོར་ནས་རྟ་གཡང་ལེན་ས།།
⁸⁰ས་ཚུར་བྱག་དེ་ཁྲ་མོ་སྤིང་ལ་བྱག།
⁸¹ཁྲ་མོ་སྤིང་ནས་མི་གཡང་ལེན་ས།།
⁸²བྱ་མོ་པར་འགྲོ་ཡི་སྤྱིད་འཕྲོ་ལྷག་ས།།
⁸³སྤྱིད་འཕྲོ་ལྷག་གིང་ཕྱིར་བལྟས་བཞོ་ས།།
⁸⁴མནའ་མ་ཚུར་འོང་གི་སྤྱིད་མཆོ་ལེན་ས།།
⁸⁵སྤྱིད་མཆོ་ལེན་ཞིང་དགའ་སྤོ་བྱེད་ས།།
⁸⁶བསོད་ནམས་ཐོབ་པའི་ས་ཆ་དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན།།
⁸⁷ཟེར་བའི་དཔེ་དེ་འདྲ་རེད་ལགས།།

He then praised the three most famous holy mountains in Nyag rong: Kha ba lung ring, Skyobs 'byin seng nag, and Shang long brag dkar.

⁸⁸རི་ལ་གནས་པའི་རི་བཤད།།
⁸⁹ཐང་ལ་གནས་པའི་ཐང་བཤད།།
⁹⁰རྒྱལ་གནས་པའི་རྒྱུ་བཤད།།
⁹¹ད་དང་པོ་གནས་ཆེན་གསུམ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རི་བཤད་ན།།
⁹²ཉག་སྟོང་ཁ་བ་ལྷང་རིང་།།
⁹³ཉག་སྟོང་སྟོབས་འབྱིན་སེང་ནག།
⁹⁴བར་གྱི་ཤང་ལོང་བྲག་དཀར།།
⁹⁵ཉག་སྟོང་ཁ་བ་ལྷང་རིང་དེ་གངས་ཀྱི་རི།།
⁹⁶གངས་དེ་ལ་སེང་གེ་འཁོར་ས་རེད།།
⁹⁷སེང་གེ་ལ་གཡུ་རལ་རྒྱས་ས་རེད།།
⁹⁸ལྷ་སྤྲུལ་མ་འཛོམས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་རེད།།
⁹⁹བྱ་ཆོས་ལ་ཆས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་རེད།།

¹⁰⁰ཆོས་བསྟན་པ་དར་པའི་གཞི་མ་རེད།
¹⁰¹ཉག་མཛད་སྟོབས་འབྱེན་སང་ནག་དེ་ནགས་ཀྱི་རི།
¹⁰²ནགས་དེ་ལ་སྟག་མོ་འཁོར་ས་རེད།
¹⁰³སྟག་མོ་ལ་འཇུག་དུག་རྒྱས་ས།
¹⁰⁴གོང་དཔོན་པོ་འཛོམས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་རེད།
¹⁰⁵བྱ་ཆོས་ལ་ཆས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་རེད།
¹⁰⁶ཆོས་བསྟན་པ་དར་པའི་གཞི་མ་ཡིན།
¹⁰⁷བར་གྱི་ཤང་ལོང་བྲག་དཀར་ནི་བྲག་གི་རི།
¹⁰⁸བྲག་གི་རི་ལ་ཐང་དཀར་རྟོད་འཁོར་རེད།
¹⁰⁹ཐང་དཀར་རྟོད་ལ་གཤོག་སྟོ་རྒྱས་ས་རེད།
¹¹⁰བྱ་རྩལ་མཆོག་འཛོམས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་རེད།
¹¹¹མི་ཆེན་བཞི་འཛོམས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་རེད།
¹¹²ཆོས་བཀའ་འགྱུར་འདོན་པའི་གཞི་མ་ཡིན།

He then praised the three famous grasslands of Dkar mdzes:
 Dkar mdzes dmar ra thang, Li thang mdo sde thang, and
 'Bang nag a skya thang.

¹¹³ད་ཐང་ཆེན་གསུམ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རེ་བཤད་ན།
¹¹⁴དཀར་མཛོས་དམར་ར་ཐང་།
¹¹⁵ལི་ཐང་མདོ་ལྗེ་ཐང་།
¹¹⁶འབང་ནག་ཨ་སྟུ་ཐང་།
¹¹⁷དཀར་མཛོས་དམར་ར་ཐང་ལ་འབྲུ་དུག་གི་གཡང་འཁོར་ས།
¹¹⁸ཆང་བདུད་རྩི་མི་ཆོད་པའི་སྟོན་ལམ་ཐོབ་ས།
¹¹⁹ལི་ཐང་མདོ་ལྗེ་ཐང་ལ་རྒྱང་མདོ་ལཱའི་རྒྱག་རྩེད་འབྲན་ས།
¹²⁰རྟ་མགྲོགས་ན་བང་དང་རྒྱལ་ཁ།
¹²¹འབང་ནག་ཨ་སྟུ་ཐང་ལ་འབྲུ་ཨ་ཟེ་ཡི་ནོར་གཡང་འཁོར་ས།
¹²²བ་འོ་མ་མི་ཆད་པའི་སྟོན་ལམ་ཐོབ་ས།

The three famous rivers of eastern Tibet were then praised:
 Mgo log rma chu, Sde dge 'bri chu, and Nyag rong g.yu

chu.⁹¹

- ¹²³ད་ཚུ་ཆེན་གསུམ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རེ་བཤད་ན།
¹²⁴མགོ་ལོག་མ་ཚུ།
¹²⁵ཟླ་དགེ་འཕྲི་ཚུ།
¹²⁶ཉག་རིང་གཡུ་ཚུ་རེད།
¹²⁷ལྷ་ལྷ་མའི་ཆས་ཇ་སྒོལ་ཚུ་རེད།
¹²⁸གོང་དཔོན་ལྷགས་གྱི་བྲིམས་ཇ་སྒོལ་ཚུ་རེད།
¹²⁹མ་ཨ་སྤུའི་གཉེན་ཇ་སྒོལ་ཚུ་རེད།

The orator then described how the bride's and groom's families had consulted fortunetellers and astrologers, discussed when to hold the wedding, and chose an auspicious day.

- ¹³⁰ད་གེ་རི་ཆས་འབུམ་ཆང་།
¹³¹བང་སྒྲིབ་སྒྲིགས་པོ་ཆང་།
¹³²མོ་བ་ལ་མོ་འདེབས།
¹³⁴ཆེས་བ་ལ་ཆེས་རྒྱབ།
¹³⁵སྐར་བཟང་ནང་ལ་གྲོས་བཅོས།
¹³⁶ཆོས་བཟང་ནང་ནས་ཐག་བཅད།
¹³⁷ཨ་རེད་བསམ་པའི་གཉེན་ཞིག་བཅོས།
¹³⁸གཉེན་དེ་ལམ་ལ་རྒྱགས།
¹³⁹ཨ་འཇོའ་བསམ་པའི་གྲོས་ཅིག་བྱབ།
¹⁴⁰གྲོས་དེ་ལྷས་ལ་འཇོའ།
¹⁴¹གཉེན་མགོ་དེ་ཨ་ཕྱོན་དགུང་ལ་བརྟེན་ན།
¹⁴²ཨ་ཕྱོན་དགུང་ལས་མཐོ་མེད།
¹⁴³ཨ་ཕྱོན་དགུང་ལ་ཉི་ཟླ་སྐར་ཆོགས་རྒྱས།
¹⁴⁴གཉེན་སྐད་དེ་དོ་རྩེ་བྲག་ལ་བརྟེན་ན།
¹⁴⁵དོ་རྩེ་བྲག་ལས་སྤ་མེད།

⁹¹ Nyag rong g.yu chu is an alternative name for the Nyag chu River.

¹⁴⁶ རྩོད་རྩོད་ལ་ཤོད་ཕྱག་འཁོར་ས།
¹⁴⁷ ཤོད་ཕྱག་ལ་གཤོག་སྒྲོ་རྒྱས་ས།
¹⁴⁸ གཉེན་འདབས་དེ་གཙང་རྒྱད་ཀྱི་ལ་བཏེན་ན།
¹⁴⁹ གཙང་རྒྱད་ཀྱི་ལས་རིང་མེད།
¹⁵⁰ གཙང་རྒྱད་ཀྱི་ལ་ཉ་སྐམ་འཁོར་ས།
¹⁵¹ ཉ་སྐམ་ལ་བཀྲ་ཡག་རྒྱས་ས།

He then praised the bride's and the groom's families, mentioning their wealthy relatives and famous ancestors.

¹⁵² ལྷ་སྐུ་མའི་སྐུ་རྒྱད་མི་ཆད་པའི་ཉག་རྩོད་ཕྱི་ལ་ཆང་།
¹⁵³ ཤོད་དཔོན་པོའི་དཔོན་རྒྱད་མ་ཆད་པའི་བང་སྐད་ལྷགས་བོ་ཆང་།
¹⁵⁴ མ་ཨ་ཕྱ་གཉེན་རྒྱད་མ་ཆད་པའི་གེ་རི་ཆས་འབྱུང་ཆང་།
¹⁵⁵ སྔ་དཔའ་བོ་དཔའ་རྒྱད་མ་ཆད་པའི་ལ་འདྲོད་སེ་ལ་ཆང་།
¹⁵⁶ ད་རང་རིགས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་མ་འབྱིང་རབས།
¹⁵⁷ སྐུ་བ་མཁས་རབས།
¹⁵⁸ ཆོས་ལྷགས་དར་རབས།
¹⁵⁹ ཆོས་སྦྱོང་རྣ་རབས།
¹⁶⁰ མ་ཆད་རྒྱབ་རི་བྲག་ལས་སྐྱ་རབས།
¹⁶¹ ཅེ་མོ་མདུང་ལས་རྣ་རབས།
¹⁶² བཤད་ན་བཤད་རྒྱ་ལོས་ཡོད།
¹⁶³ ཤར་གྱི་ཉི་མ་ལུབ་ལ་བྱོན།
¹⁶⁴ ལུབ་ཀྱི་གྲིབ་མ་ཚུར་ལ་བསྐྱུ་བ་དེ།
¹⁶⁵ བར་དུ་བཤད་ན་བཤད་རྒྱ་ཡོད་དེ།
¹⁶⁶ ད་བཤད་ཅི་མི་དགོས།
¹⁶⁷ བཤད་མི་དགོས་བན་ཤན་གྱི་ཆོས།
¹⁶⁸ བསྐྱུ་མི་དགོས་རྩི་མའི་སྐྱ།
¹⁶⁹ བར་མི་རང་གཞན་ཀུན་གྱིས་ཏ་གོ་རྒྱ་རེད་ལགས།

The orator then described the groom's family's house, how the family asked the advice of a fortune-teller and astrologer,

and how they dug the foundations on an auspicious day. He compared the house's four corners to taut threads and the four walls to stretched tiger skins. The house's windows, doors, ladders, cushions, tables, brazier, stove, pillars, and *lab rtse* were also praised.

¹⁷⁰ ད་དེ་རིང་ས་ཁུ་བཟང་པའི་བཞག་གཅིག་(བྱས་རྗེས)་ལོ་རྒྱས་ཅུང་ཙམ་
བསྐྱས་པ་རེ་བཤད་ན།

¹⁷¹ ད་དང་པོ་མོ་བས་མོ་བདགས།

¹⁷² རྩས་པས་རྩས་བརྒྱབ།

¹⁷³ སྐར་བཟང་ནང་ལ་མང་བཞོ།

¹⁷⁴ ཚས་བཟང་ནང་ལ་མང་བཞག།

¹⁷⁵ རྩ་བཞི་རྩྭ་རྒྱད་འཐེན་འདྲ།

¹⁷⁶ ལེབ་བཞི་རྩྭ་ལྷགས་བརྒྱད་འདྲ།

¹⁷⁷ རྩོ་ཡར་མོ་རྩྭ་མོ་འབྱེལ་འདྲ།

¹⁷⁸ རྩོ་མར་པོ་མེང་གེ་འབྱེལ་འདྲ།

¹⁷⁹ སྐས་ཕྱང་དང་པོ་རྩ་བླ་མའི་སྐས་ཕྱང་།

¹⁸⁰ རྩ་བླ་མའི་ཚས་ལ་གཤར་ལམ།

¹⁸¹ སྐས་ཕྱང་གཉིས་པ་གོང་དཔོན་པོའི་སྐས་ཕྱང་།

¹⁸² གོང་དཔོན་པོ་ཁྲིམས་ལ་གཤར་ལམ།

¹⁸³ སྐས་ཕྱང་གསུམ་པ་མ་ཨ་སྤྱའི་སྐས་ཕྱང་།

¹⁸⁴ མ་ཨ་སྤྱའི་གཉིན་ལ་གཤར་ལམ།

¹⁸⁵ ས་གདན་གཉིས་འཛོམས་ཆ་ཤད།

¹⁸⁶ རྩོ་བྱར་དམར་པོ་གསང་འདྲང་།

¹⁸⁷ མེ་ར་ཆ་འཛོམས་ཆ་ཤད།

¹⁸⁸ ཐབ་ཀ་གཡང་རྩང་འདི་ལ་རྩ་འཁོར།

¹⁸⁹ གསེར་གྱི་ཀ་བ་འདི་ལ་རྩབ་རྟེན།

¹⁹⁰ ཡར་ཐབ་དེ་གསེར་ཐབ་ཕྲ་མོ།

¹⁹¹ བར་ཐབ་དེ་དངུལ་ཐབ་ཕྲ་མོ།

¹⁹² མར་ཐབ་དེ་གཡུ་ཐབ་ཕྲ་མོ།

¹⁹³ ཡར་ཐབ་གསེར་ཐབ་ཕྲ་མོ་ནང་ལ་རྩ་བླ་མའི་ཚས་རྩོལ་ས།

194 བར་ཐབ་དདུལ་ཐབ་ཐ་མོ་ནང་ལ་གོང་དཔོན་པོའི་ཁྲིམས་ཇ་སྒྲོལ་ས།
 195 མར་ཐབ་དདུལ་ཐབ་ཐ་མོ་ནང་མ་ཨ་སྤྱ་གཉེན་ཇ་སྒྲོལ་ས།
 196 གསེར་གྱི་ཀ་བ་དེ་གྱེན་བསྐྱངས།
 197 སྤྱོད་ཤེལ་སེར་བོ་ཀ་རུ།
 198 གཡུ་ཡི་གདུང་མ་འཕྲེད་འཕེན།
 199 ཨ་རྒྱག་ས་ཡི་ས་བྲུལ།
 200 སྤྱིན་དུ་ར་ཡི་ཨ་ཚག།
 201 ལབ་ཅེ་དུང་གི་ལབ་ཅེ།
 202 ཆོ་བསོད་ནམས་འདྲིམས་པའི་ལབ་ཅེ།
 203 དཔེ་དེ་འབྲ་རེད་ལ།

The orator described and praised *dar dkar* in preparation to conclude his speech.

204 ད་དར་དཀར་བོ་དྲི་མ་མེད་པ་འདི་ཡི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྩང་ཙམ་བསྐྱས་པ་རེ་བཤད་
 བ།
 205 ད་དང་པོ་རྒྱ་ནག་ཡུལ་ནས་དར།
 206 བཀལ་བ་སྤྱག་རྒྱང་དྲེལ་ལ་བཀལ།
 207 བཀལ་མ་ཆེ་རྒྱང་གསུམ་ལ་བཀལ།
 208 དྲེལ་པོ་ལ་གསེར་སྒྲ་རྒྱབ།
 209 རྒྱ་ཡུལ་ཁམས་ནས་འོང་བ་རེད།
 210 ལ་མོ་བརྒྱ་དེ་ཤ་མོ་བཅད་བཅད་བཅོ།
 211 ཐང་ཆེན་བརྒྱ་དེ་ཤེར་ཁ་ལེ་ལེ་བཅོ།
 212 རྒྱ་མིག་བརྒྱ་དང་བརྒྱ་གསུམ་བཅད།
 213 བོད་ཁམས་ཕེབས་ལ་ལོ་གསུམ་རེད།
 214 དེ་ལ་དྲི་མ་མ་འགོས་མ་ཤོར།
 215 སེར་བོ་གསེར་དང་མཉམ་མཇལ་རེད།
 216 དཀར་བོ་དདུལ་དང་མཉམ་མཇལ་རེད།
 217 རི་མོ་བཀ་ཤིས་རྟགས་བརྒྱད་རེད།
 218 མ་ཚད་ནོར་བུ་ཆ་བདུན་རེད།
 219 བྱ་བསོད་ནམས་ཅན་ལག་ལས་མ་གཏོགས་མི་ལོན་ཟེར།

- ²²⁰ བྱ་དབང་ཐང་ཅན་གི་ལག་ལས་མ་གཏོགས་མི་དར་ཟེར།
²²¹ དར་མགོ་དེ་ལྟ་ཡུལ་ཡོད་རྒྱ་དེ།
²²² ཆོས་བསྟན་པ་དར་བའི་རྟགས་མཚན་རེད།
²²³ དར་སྐད་རང་གི་བཟུང་རྒྱ་དེ་རྒྱལ་ཁ་རང་ལ་ཐོབ་པའི་རྟགས་མཚན།
²²⁴ དར་འདབས་རྒྱལ་སྤེལ་སྤུན་དེ་པ་མ་བྱ་རྒྱུ་འཛུམས་པའི་རྟགས་
 མཚན།
²²⁵ གྲི་མད་རྒྱལ་ཁ་རང་ལ་འཛུམས་པའི་རྟགས།
²²⁶ རྒྱ་པར་འགོ་ལ་སྤུལ་ན་སྐྱེས་དར།
²²⁷ རྒྱ་པར་འགོ་ཡི་སྐྱེད་ཅེ་འདུས་ས།
²²⁸ ཅེ་ར་བསམ་དོན་འབྱུང་བའི་རྟགས།
²²⁹ ཐམས་ཅད་འབྱུང་བའི་དར།
²³⁰ འགོ་དར་བདེ་སྐྱེད་འབྱུང་ས་ཟེར།
²³¹ ཆོག་གསུམ་བཤད་ནས་བཤད་དར།
²³² གཏམ་སྟན་པོ་ཁ་ལྟེ་འགྲིགས་ཟེར།
²³³ འཆི་མེད་ཆེ་ཡི་ཆེ་དར།
²³⁴ ཅད་མེད་བདེ་ཡི་བདེ་དར།
²³⁵ སྤུན་སྤུམ་ཆོགས་པའི་ཆོགས་དར།
²³⁶ ད་དར་དཀར་གྲི་མ་མེད་པ་འདི་ཡི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཕྱོགས་ཅམ་བསུས་པ་བཤད་ན་
 དེ་འདྲ་རེད་ལགས།

In the final verse the orator expressed the wish that the groom's family would become wealthier, more powerful, and extend his kin network.

- ²³⁷ ད་བང་སྤང་ལྷགས་བོ་ཚང་བཅན་པོའི་མི་ཐོག།
²³⁸ ལྷག་པོ་ཡི་རྒྱ་ཐོག།
²³⁹ གོ་སྤྱོད་པ་ཨ་ཁུ་འཛུམས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ།
²⁴⁰ གོ་སྤྱོད་མ་ཨ་སྤུ་འཛུམས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ།
²⁴¹ བྱ་རྒྱུད་ཆ་གསུམ་འཛུམས་པའི་རྟགས་དང་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་རྒྱས་དང་སྟོན་ལམ་
 དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན་ལགས།

Wedding Speech Three

The speech below is an example of what might be given on the second day of the wedding. It was given by A lca upon request in 2008 in ri na Village. The bride and groom's names are fictitious.

Lines contained three to twenty-seven syllables. *Da* 'now' and *da de ring* 'now, today' occurred in almost every verse, often at the beginning. The eleven verses are divided according to content, though sometimes the orator marked the divisions with pauses. The orator spoke loudly from start to finish in an even rhythm and frequently used honorifics, metaphors, and hyperbole. The 135 lines of this speech took six minutes to orate.

The orator began by explaining the importance of saying *legs so*.

- ¹འོ་ལེགས་སོ། ལེགས་སོ།
- ²ད་ལེགས་སོ་ལེགས་སོ་མ་ཟེར་ན།
- ³ལྷ་ལྷ་མའི་ཆོས་ར་ནང་ལ་ལེགས་སོ་ཟེར་ན།
- ⁴ལྷ་ལྷ་མའི་ཆོས་དར།
- ⁵གོང་དཔོན་པོའི་བྲིམས་ར་ནང་ལ་ལེགས་སོ་ཟེར་ན།
- ⁶གོང་དཔོན་པོ་ཡི་བྲིམས་དར།
- ⁷མ་ཨ་སྐྱ་ཡི་གཞིན་ར་ནང་ལ་ལེགས་སོ་ཟེར་ན།
- ⁸མ་ཨ་སྐྱ་ཡི་གཞིན་དར།

He then asked all elders, men, women, and children to pay attention, and explained that without speech one cannot be understood by one's parents and without walking one cannot cross the threshold. The orator furthermore said that if he discussed everything from the creation of the world until now, it would require a long time, so he would shorten his speech.

- ⁹སྒྲིབ་ཀྱི་ཆེ་རིམ་རྒྱ་གཞུང་།
¹⁰འོག་གི་མ་དང་ཨ་སྤྱོད་།
¹¹བར་གྱི་བྱ་དང་བྱ་མོ།
¹²འདྲུག་ཆོག་རྒྱ་མ་པ་ཐམས་ཅད།
¹³ད་ཐུགས་རྒྱ་ཉེན་ཞིག་གིས་ལགས།
¹⁴ཐུགས་སེམས་སྒྲིབ་ཞིག་གིས་ལགས།
¹⁵ད་སྐབས་སྤྱོད་བཅས་པའི་གཏམ་རེད།
¹⁶དུས་སྤྱོད་བཅས་པའི་ཆར་རེད།
¹⁷ད་དེ་རིང་ཆོག་ཁ་སྒྲིབ་ཆེན་ཆོག་གཞུང་མ་བཤད་ན།
¹⁸དེའི་པ་མ་ཡིན་ཡང་གོ་བདེ་འཕྲོད་རྒྱ་མ་རེད་ལགས།
¹⁹གོ་མ་གཞུང་གི་གོ་མ་པ་མ་སྒྲིབ་ན།
²⁰སྒྲིབ་ཐེམ་ཡིན་ཡང་ལ་མོ་བཟུང་སྤྱོད་རྒྱ་མ་རེད་ལགས།
²¹ཕྱི་དང་པ་ཆགས་གི་ཚུན་ཆད།
²²དེ་རིང་སང་ཉེན་པར་རྒྱུ་ཆད།
²³ཕྱི་དང་པ་ཐུགས་བཤད།
²⁴སྤྱོད་བྱ་མཐའ་བཤད།
²⁵སྤྱོད་པ་རབ་བཤད་ན་ལོ་གཞུང་།
²⁶སྤྱོད་འཕྲིང་བཤད་ན་ལོ་གཞུང་།
²⁷སྤྱོད་ཐ་བཤད་ན་ལོ་གཞུང་།
²⁸བཤད་རྒྱ་སྤྱོད་པ་ཞིན་དུ་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར་རེད་ལགས།
²⁹ད་ཆོག་ཁ་ཉེན་ན་ཉེན་ཁ་བདེ་མོ།
³⁰ཡོ་བ་ཐག་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་བཞིན་བདེ་མོ།

Next, the orator described the creation of the world and living beings.

- ³¹ད་ཕྱི་སྒྲིབ་འཕྲིང་ཉེན་གྱི་ཆགས་ཚུལ་དང་།
³²ནང་བཅུད་སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་འཕྲུངས་ཚུལ།
³³སྤྱོད་རྒྱ་ཉེན་བཅུས་ཅམ་རེ་བཤད་ན།
³⁴བསྐྱེད་པ་དང་པོ་ནམ་མཐའ་ལ་རྒྱུང་ཆགས།
³⁵བར་སྤྱོད་ལ་རྒྱུང་ནག་འཕྲོད་མ་ཆགས།

- ³⁶ས་གཞི་ལ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཆགས།
³⁷རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལ་རྩལ་ཆགས།
³⁸ས་གཞི་ལ་རིའི་རྒྱལ་བོ་རི་རབ་ཆགས།
³⁹གསེར་གྱི་རི་བདུན་ཆགས།
⁴⁰རོལ་བའི་མཚོ་བདུན་ཆགས།
⁴¹འཛམ་གླིང་དང་རྩ་ཡབ་གླིང་ཆགས།
⁴²གླིང་བཞི་དང་གླིང་ཕུན་ཆགས།
⁴³སྟོ་འཛམ་བུའི་གླིང་ཆགས།
⁴⁴ལྷུ་བ་བ་གླང་སྟོང་ཆགས།
⁴⁵ཤར་ལྷས་འཕགས་གླིང་ཆགས།
⁴⁶བྱང་རྒྱ་མི་སྟན་ཆགས།
⁴⁷རྩ་ཡབ་དང་རྩ་ཡབ་གླིང་།
⁴⁸གླིང་བཞི་དང་གླིང་ཕུན་ཆགས་ཟེར་བའི།
⁴⁹འཛིག་རྟེན་གྱི་དཔེ་དེ་ལྟར་རེད་ལགས།
⁵⁰ད་ཉོད་རྒྱ་གར་ནི་སྟ་ལས་མཆེད་སྟེས་རབས།
⁵¹སྟ་ལས་མཆེད་སྟེས་བའི་མི་རྒྱུད་བཟང་།
⁵²སྟེད་རྒྱ་ནག་ནི་སྟ་ལས་མཆེད་སྟེས་རབས།
⁵³སྟ་ལས་མཆེད་སྟེས་བའི་རྒྱ་ཁོར་ལྷག།
⁵⁴བར་གྱི་མི་དབང་གཏུང་རྒྱ་ནི་སྟེའུ་ཨ་དགའ་དང་།
⁵⁵བྲག་སྟན་མོ་གཉིས་ལས་ཆད་བས་ལས་བའི་ཐབས་མཁས།
⁵⁶དམར་བོ་ཤ་ལ་དགའ་ཟེར་བའི་འཛིག་རྟེན་གྱི་དཔེ་རེད་ལགས།

He then described the origin of Nyag rong, and listed all of Nyag rong's famous families.

- ⁵⁷ད་བོད་གངས་ཅན་གྱི་སྟོངས།
⁵⁸ཉག་ཨ་རྩོ་རྩོ་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས།
⁵⁹ཉུང་བསྐྱས་ཅམ་རེ་བཤད་ན།
⁶⁰སྟོད་གྱི་མངའ་རིས་སྟོར་གསུམ།
⁶¹བར་གྱི་དབུས་གཙང་རུ་བཞི།
⁶²སྟེད་གྱི་མདོ་ཁམས་སྐང་རྒྱག།

- ⁶³དེའི་ནང་དུ་བོད་གངས་ཅན་སྒྲོངས།
⁶⁴ཉག་ཨ་ཇི་ཏྲ་རོང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཤད་ན།
⁶⁵བཤད་རྒྱ་ཨ་ཡོད་བཞིན་དུ་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར་རེད་ལགས།
⁶⁶ཉག་ཨ་འཛི་ལུང་ཁུལ་སྐྱེ་མོ་ཕྱི་ལོག་ནས་གངས་རི་ར་བའི་ཐོང་བ་རྒྱན།
⁶⁷ནང་ལོག་ནས་དབུས་གཙང་རུ་བཞི་ཡི་མངའ་ཐང་རྒྱན།
⁶⁸མ་ཚ་ཚ་ནང་གི་ཚོ་ཚོ་ཆགས།
⁶⁹ཚོ་བ་བཞི་གསུམ་བརྒྱ་གཉིས་ཆགས།
⁷⁰ཉག་སྟོད་རྒྱ་རི་ཚང་ཆགས།
⁷¹ཤང་གཤིང་རྒྱ་སྒོ་ཚང་ཆགས།
⁷²མ་རེད་པ་ཐེ་ཚང་ཆགས།
⁷³བང་མླད་ལྷགས་བོ་ཚང་ཆགས།
⁷⁴རི་སྒྲེ་འབྲ་སང་ཚང་ཆགས།
⁷⁵བོ་ལོ་སྐྱེ་འབམ་ཚང་ཆགས།
⁷⁶ཕུ་ཡུལ་དག་སྒྲ་ཚང་ཆགས།
⁷⁷འབའ་སྟེད་ཨ་ཟག་ཚང་ཆགས།
⁷⁸ཚོ་ཡུལ་འགོ་མགོན་ཚང་ཆགས།
⁷⁹ད་ཆོག་ཁ་ཉུང་བསུས་ཙམ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རེ་བཤད་ན།
⁸⁰དཔེ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན་རྒྱ་རེད་ལ།

He continued his discussion of Nyag rong by introducing its three most famous mountains: Kha ba lung ring, Skyobs 'byin seng nag, and Shang long brag dkar.

- ⁸¹ད་དེ་ཡི་ནང་ནས་ཉག་ཁུལ་ལུང་གི་རི་ལ་རི་བཤད།
⁸²ཐང་ལ་ཐང་བཤད་མཚོ་ལ་མཚོ་བཤད།
⁸³རྒྱ་ལ་རྒྱ་བཤད་དང་ནགས་ལ་ནགས་བཤད་རེ་རེ་བཤད་ན།
⁸⁴ཉག་སྟོད་ཁ་བ་ལུང་རིང་ནི་གངས་ཀྱི་རི།
⁸⁵གངས་རི་དཀར་པོའི་ན་བཟའ།
⁸⁶སྒྲིན་རི་དཀར་པོའི་དབུ་ལྷ།
⁸⁷བྱང་རྒྱལ་སེམས་དཔའི་སྤུལ་པ།
⁸⁸གཞན་དང་མི་འདྲ་གང་དང་མི་མཉམ་པའི་ཁར།

⁸⁹གནས་ཁུང་པར་ཅན་གཏེར་བྱིན་རྒྱལ་ཅན་ཡིན་ཏུ་དེ་ནི།
⁹⁰བཤད་མི་དགོས་པའི་བཤད་པ་རེད།
⁹¹བགོད་མི་དགོས་པའི་གཏེར་མ་རེད་ལགས།
⁹²ད་གནས་ཆེན་ཤང་ལོང་བྲག་དཀར་དེ།
⁹³གནས་ས་མི་འགྱུར་བའི་ཀ་བ།
⁹⁴རྒྱ་བོད་མི་འགྱུར་བའི་དམུ་རྩོ།
⁹⁵གནས་ཁུང་པར་ཅན།
⁹⁶གཏེར་བྱིན་རྒྱལ་ཅན།
⁹⁷ཁང་བརྟེན་པ་རྒྱ་བདུད་འདུལ་གྱི་གདན་ས།
⁹⁸བཤད་མི་དགོས་པའི་བཤད་པ།
⁹⁹བགོད་མི་དགོས་པའི་གཏེར་མ་རེད་ལ།
¹⁰⁰ད་ལྷ་བྲག་དཀར་རྩོ་རྩེ་དབྱིབས་མཚུངས་དེ།
¹⁰¹དེ་ནི་མཇལ་ས་དང་བལྟ་ས་རི་མོ་བཞིན་དུ་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར་རེད་ལགས།
¹⁰²ད་དེ་ཡི་ནང་དུ་མ་བཀོད་པའི་རྩོང་གསུམ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དཔེ་དེ་འདྲ་རེད་
 ལགས།

The orator then described the groom's family's house, how the family asked the advice of a fortune-teller and astrologer, and how they dug the foundations on an auspicious day. He compared the house's four corners to taut threads and the four walls to stretched tiger skins. The house's windows, doors, ladders, cushions, tables, brazier, stove, pillars, and *lab rtse* were also praised.

¹⁰³ད་བཀོད་པའི་རྩོང་གཅིག་ངོ་མཚར་ཅན་ལྷགས་མདུད་འབྲུག་མོ་རྩོང་།
¹⁰⁴འབྲུག་དགའ་ལུན་ཆོས་རྒྱུང་ལེར་ནག་གི་གདན་ས།
¹⁰⁵རྒྱ་བཞི་རྩོང་རྒྱུད་འཐེན་འདྲ།
¹⁰⁶ལེབ་བཞི་རྟག་ལྷགས་བརྒྱུངས་འདྲ།
¹⁰⁷གསེར་གྱི་ཀ་བ་དེ་གྱེན་དུ་བཙུགས།
¹⁰⁸དུལ་གྱི་གདུང་མ་དེ་གྱེན་དུ་བྲུགས།
¹⁰⁹སྒྲིམ་ཤེལ་སེར་པོ་ཀ་རྩོ་གདན།
¹¹⁰བྱ་རུ་དམར་པོ་ཀ་ཉི་ལྷས།

- ¹¹¹ཨ་བཀྲ་ནི་ལེ་དེ་ཕུག་འབྲིང་།
¹¹²ཅན་དན་ཤིང་གི་གོ་བོར་།
¹¹³སྤྱ་རུ་ཐེན་མ་ཕུག་འཆལ་།
¹¹⁴ཨ་དགའ་སའི་ནགས་ལས་།
¹¹⁵ལྷིང་བཅེགས་ནི་ལྷའི་པོ་བྲང་།
¹¹⁶སྒྲ་ཆངས་པ་བརྒྱ་བྱིན་གྱི་གདུགས་ཕུབས་ས།
¹¹⁷བར་བཅེགས་ནི་ཁྲིམས་གྱི་པོ་བྲང་།
¹¹⁸འབྲུག་དགའ་ཐུན་ཆོས་རྒྱུང་བེར་ནག་གི་ཁྲིམས་བཤད་དང་ཁྲིམས་གཏམ་
 བཟོ་ས།
¹¹⁹འོག་བཅེགས་ནི་ལྷའི་པོ་བྲང་།
¹²⁰རྒྱ་འཛམ་གྱི་ལ་ཡི་བས་གཡང་དང་ནས་གཡང་ཕབས་ས།
¹²¹ད་ཁང་ལྷིང་གསེར་མཁར་མན་ཆད།
¹²²སྒྲ་ཆིས་སྒྲ་མོ་ཡན་ཆད།
¹²³ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཉུང་བརྒྱ་ཅམ་རེ་བཤད་ན།
¹²⁴ཁྲ་བོ་གཟེ་ཡི་གསེར་མཁར་།
¹²⁵སྒྲ་པོ་མཆོང་གི་སྒྲ་མོ།
¹²⁶ས་ལེ་སྒྲམ་གྱི་དཀར་ཁུང་།
¹²⁷པད་མ་ར་གྲའི་པད་ཁ།
¹²⁸གོ་གྱི་(མཐིལ་ཤིང་)མེ་ལོང་ཁ་སྒྲམ།
¹²⁹ལག་སྒྲམ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྒྲམ་ཆུང་།
¹³⁰གཞི་བདག་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཕྱེ་མར་འཛོག་ས།
¹³¹རྒྱ་རགས་(རྒྱ་རྩེ)གཡུ་མཆོ་སྒྲོན་པོ་ལྷ་བཟའ་དྲང་ཆུང་སྒྲོལ་མའི་རྒྱ་འབྲུག་
 གསོལ་ཆ།
¹³²ལྷིང་ཐབ་འོག་ཐབ་བར་ཐབ་གསུམ།
¹³³ལྷིང་ཐབ་ནི་གསེར་ཐབ་ཁྲ་མོ།
¹³⁴སྒྲ་སྒྲ་མའི་མཆོད་རྩིས་ས།
¹³⁵བར་ཐབ་ནི་དདུལ་ཐབ་ཁྲ་མོ།
¹³⁶གོང་དཔོན་པོའི་ཁྲིམས་རྩིས་ས།
¹³⁷འོག་ཐབ་ནི་བངས་ཐབ་ཁྲ་མོ།
¹³⁸མ་ཨ་སྤྱི་གཉེན་རྩིས་ས།

139 ད་བཀོད་པའི་རྫོང་གཅིག་ངོ་མཚར་ཅན།

140 ལྷགས་མདུད་འབྲུག་མོ་རྫོང་ཡིན་མིན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེ་འདྲ་རེད་ལགས།

He then described the auspiciousness of that day on which people, deities, and all good things had gathered, and on which G.yu mtsho and Bkra shis zla ba would marry.

141 ད་དེ་རིང་གནམ་ལ་སྐར་མ་བཟང་།

142 ས་ལ་དུས་ཚོད་བཟང་།

143 བར་ལ་གཟའ་སྐར་དར།

144 མི་མི་འཇོམས་ལྟ་འཇོམས།

145 ལྷ་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པད་མའི་ཞལ་འཇོམས།

146 དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ནང་ལ་ལྷ་འཇོམས།

147 བྱམ་པ་ནང་ལ་རྩས་འཇོམས།

148 མར་མེ་ནང་ལ་འོད་འཇོམས།

149 འོ་མ་ནང་ལ་མངར་འཇོམས།

150 སྐ་ཨ་འབྲུང་ཉིང་ལ་གོས་བདེ།

151 གནམ་ལ་བག་ཤིས་ཉི་ཟླ་སྐར་གསུམ་འཇོམས།

152 ས་ལ་བག་ཤིས་ཆེ་ཐོག་ལོ་འདབ་རྒྱས།

153 མི་ལ་བག་ཤིས་བདེ་སྦྱིད་ཕུན་སུམ་གྱིས་སྒོ་ནས།

154 ད་དེ་རིང་བྱ་མོ་གཡུ་མཚོ་དང་བྱ་བག་ཤིས་ཟླ་བ་གཉིས་བྱ་མོ་ཕར་བཏང་
མནའ་མ་ཚུར་བསུའི་དུས་ཚོད།

He then praised the groom's and bride's parents and families.

155 ས་རིགས་མི་འདྲ་དྲུང་རི་དཀར་པོ།

156 མ་རིགས་མི་འདྲ་གཡུ་མཚོ་ཐོན་པོ།

157 ས་ཆེན་རབས་མ་གཉེན་རབས་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཤིག་བཤད་ན།

158 བཤད་རྒྱ་མ་མང་ན་མི་ཉུང་ཡོད་རྒྱ་རེད་དེ།

159 ད་དེ་རིང་ཆོག་ཁ་ཉུང་ཉུང་ཉན་ལན་བདེ་མོ།

160 ཡོབ་ཐག་ཐུང་ཐུང་སྐྱ་ལས་བདེ་མོ།

161 ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཤད་ན།

- ¹⁶²དེ་ནས་པ་ཁྱདས་མི་འདྲ་རབས་མ་ཁྱདས་མི་འདྲ་རབས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས།
¹⁶³བསམ་པའི་གཉེན།
¹⁶⁴ཚད་པའི་གོས།
¹⁶⁵ར་པར་དགའ་ཤིང་ལོ་རྒྱུར་འགྲུག།
¹⁶⁶བཅན་པོ་སྟག་གཟིག་ཁ་སྟོང།
¹⁶⁷ལྷག་པོ་མར་དོ་ཁ་སྟོང།
¹⁶⁸མཛོས་མ་མེ་དོག་ཁ་སྟོང།
¹⁶⁹ཡིན་མིན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རེ་བཤད་ན།
¹⁷⁰ཁག་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དུད་ཁྱིམ་ཚང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས།
¹⁷¹དུད་ཁ་མ་ཆེན་དུ་ཆེན།
¹⁷²པ་ཁྱ་བཟང་པོའི་བཞག་གཅིག་(བྱས་རྒྱུས།)
¹⁷³རྒྱུ་པ་བཟང་པོའི་དྲ་རས།
¹⁷⁴ཡིན་མིན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེ་འདྲ་རེད་ལགས།

The orator then described and praised *dar dkar*.

- ¹⁷⁵དར་དཀར་ཉིན་མོ་བདེ་ལེགས་འདི་ཡི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཉུང་བསྐྱུས་ཙམ་བཤད་ན།
¹⁷⁶རྒྱ་བཟང་ལྷ་ལྷམ་སྟོང་མས་བཏགས་ཟེན་རེད།
¹⁷⁷ཐབས་དང་རྩ་འཕྱུལ་སྟོན་ནས་བཏགས་ཟེན་རེད།
¹⁷⁸སྟོང་དང་རྩ་འཕྱུལ་སྟོན་ནས་བཏགས་ཟེན་རེད།
¹⁷⁹གསེར་ཐུར་མགོ་ནས་པར་འཕེལ་(འཕེལ།)
¹⁸⁰དུལ་ཐུར་མགོ་ནས་རྒྱུར་འཕེན།
¹⁸¹ད་ཚོང་དཔོན་ཨ་ཁང་མགོན་པོས་རྒྱ་ཐམས་ཅད་རྒྱ་མི་ནོར།
¹⁸²དོན་ཐམས་ཅད་དོན་མི་ནོར།
¹⁸³ད་དར་དཀར་ཉིན་མོ་བདེ་ལེགས་འདི།
¹⁸⁴སེར་པོ་གསེར་དང་མཉམ་བཅུགས།
¹⁸⁵དཀར་པོ་དུལ་དང་མཉམ་མཇལ།
¹⁸⁶ད་ཤེད་ཆེན་མཛོ་ལ་མི་བཀལ།
¹⁸⁷སྟག་རྒྱུང་དྲེལ་ལ་བཀལ།
¹⁸⁸ལས་དབང་ཐང་ཅན་གྱི་སྟོང་ལ་བབས།
¹⁸⁹སྟོང་ལ་ལ་བཏང་ན་ཆོས་དར།

¹⁹⁰གོང་དཔོན་པོ་ལ་བཏང་ན་ཁྱིམ་ས་དར།
¹⁹¹མ་ཨ་ལྷ་ལ་བཏང་ན་གཉེན་དར།
¹⁹²ད་དར་དཀར་ཉིན་མོ་བདེ་ལེགས་འདི།
¹⁹³དར་མགོ་དེ་བཟ་ཤིས་རྟགས་བརྒྱད།
¹⁹⁴བཟ་ཤིས་རྟགས་བརྒྱད་དེ་ཨ་ཕྱོན་དགུང་ལ་བྱག།
¹⁹⁵དགུང་ཨ་ཕྱོན་དགུང་ལས་མཐོ་མེད།
¹⁹⁶ཁྱི་ཉི་ལྷ་ཡི་སྐར་ཚོགས་རྒྱས་ས།
¹⁹⁷དར་སྐད་རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་ལྷ་བདུན་དེ་རྩི་རྩེ་བཟ་ལ་བྱག།
¹⁹⁸བཟ་རྩི་རྩེ་བཟ་ལས་སྤྲ་མེད།
¹⁹⁹བྱ་མོད་དཀར་མོ་བྱ་ཡི་གཤོག་སྒོ་རྒྱས་ས།
²⁰⁰དར་འདབས་རྒྱ་ནག་ལྷགས་རི་དེ་གཙང་རྒྱད་ཚུ་ལ་བྱག།
²⁰¹ཚུ་གཙང་རྒྱད་ཚུ་ལས་རིང་མེད།
²⁰²ཉ་སྐམ་མ་བྱ་ཡི་འཛུམ་དྲུག་རྒྱས་ས།

Next, he praised the groom's village (ri na), describing its unique landforms, plains, rivers, rocky outcrops, and grasslands. He claimed that villagers had milk to drink during summer and liquor to drink in winter. He stated that females who leave the village leave happiness behind, but those who come receive happiness.

²⁰³ད་དེ་རིང་ཐུགས་གཏམ་བཤད་ན།
²⁰⁴རི་ཕྱོ་ལྷག་མོ་གདན་ཐང་ས་གནས་ཀྱི་སྤྱིང་ནས།
²⁰⁵སྤྱིང་ཐང་བར་ཐང་འོག་ཐང་གསུམ།
²⁰⁶སྤྱིང་ཐང་ནི་དགོན་ཆེན་ཆགས་ས།
²⁰⁷ལྷ་སྐྱ་མས་ཆོས་ར་སྐོར་སའི་ཆོས་ཐང་།
²⁰⁸བར་ཐང་ནི་ལྷག་ཐང་ཁྲ་མོ་ནང་ལ།
²⁰⁹གོང་དཔོན་པོས་ཁྱིམ་ཡིག་གཏོང་སའི་ཁྱིམ་ཐང་།
²¹⁰འོག་ཐང་ནི་གོང་ཆེན་མེ་ལོང་ལ་སྤྱོད།
²¹¹ཚུ་གཉིས་དེ་ཆབ་མ་གཤིབ་འདྲ་ཡིན།
²¹²བཟ་གཉིས་དེ་མདའ་སྒྲོ་གཤིབ་འདྲ་ཡིན།
²¹³སྤང་གཉིས་དེ་མེ་ལོང་གཤིབ་འདྲ་ཡིན།

¹¹⁴གཞན་དང་མ་འདྲ་མཁན་གང་དང་མི་མཉམ་མཁན།
¹¹⁵དབྱར་ཟླ་གསུམ་ནི་འོ་སྐྱ་འབྱེལ་ས།
¹¹⁶དགུན་ཟླ་གསུམ་ནི་ཆང་སྐྱ་འབྱེལ་ས།
¹¹⁷མནའ་མ་ཚུར་བསུ་ཡི་སྦྱིད་གཞི་གཏང་ས།
¹¹⁸བྱ་མོ་པར་འགོ་ཡིས་སྦྱིད་འཕྲོ་ལྷག་ས།
¹¹⁹ཡིན་རྒྱ་མིན་རྒྱ་དེ་འདྲ་རེད་ལགས།

The final verse expressed the wish that the groom's and bride's families would be healthy, their livestock free of disease, and that the groom and the bride would become more powerful and wealthy and expand their kin network.

¹²⁰ད་དེ་རིང་པན་ཆད་ཁག་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྤྱིང་གི་མི་ལ་ན་ཚ་མེད།
¹²¹འོག་གི་ཚོག་ལ་ཤོད་ཁ་མེད།
¹²²དེ་བྱ་བྱ་མོ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཆོ་ལ།
¹²³བཅན་དར་དང་ཕྱག་གསུམ་འཛོམས།
¹²⁴དར་རྒྱས་དང་ཕུན་ཕྱིན་ཆོགས།
¹²⁵ལྷག་གདན་སྤྱིང་ནས་ཟླ་རྒྱུད་མི་ཆད།
¹²⁶གཟིག་གདན་སྤྱིང་ནས་དཔོན་རྒྱུད་མི་ཆད།
¹²⁷དེ་པ་མ་བྱ་རྒྱུད་འཛོམས་ཚ་ཨ་ཁུ་མདོ་ལུ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་རེད་ལ།
¹²⁸ད་ལུལ་ཟླ་ཤོག་ཁ་རི་ཟླ་ལྷག་མོ་གདན་ཐང་ལ།
¹²⁹མི་ལོ་བརྩ་གསུམ་ལྷ་ལོ་བརྩ་བཞི་རང་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་ཙུའི་བར་དུ།
¹³⁰ཤེ་གོགས་དེ་ཆད།
¹³¹གསོན་འགག་དེ་སྤེལ།
¹³²རྩེ་ཕྱག་རྩེ་སྦྱིད་རྩེ་ཡག།
¹³³ལོ་ཡག་ལྷང་འབྲངས་འོང་།
¹³⁴ཆོས་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་དར་བའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ཡིན་ནོ།
¹³⁵བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཤོག།

Wedding Speech Four

This wedding speech was given by Bstan 'dzin in 2009 upon request. The bride and groom's names are fictitious. Such speeches are given on the second day of the wedding.

Lines contained from three to twenty-one syllables. The terms *da* 'now' and *da de 'phro ru* 'now, then' occurred frequently in the middle of verses and occasionally at the start. The fifteen verses of this speech are divided according to the content, and were occasionally marked by the orator with pauses. The orator spoke loudly throughout the speech using proverbs, honorifics, metaphors, and hyperbole. The 349 lines of this speech took eighteen minutes to deliver.

In the first verse, the orator explained why it is important to say *legs so*.

- ¹འོ་ལེགས་སོ་ལེགས་སོ།
- ²ད་ལེགས་སོ་ལེགས་སོ་ཟེར་རྒྱ་དེ།
- ³འཇིག་རྟེན་འདི་ཡི་གཏམ་དཔེ་ནང་ལ་ཡོད་རྒྱ་རེད་ལགས།
- ⁴ད་ལེགས་སོ་ལེགས་སོ་ཡི་འོ་རྒྱས་མ་བཤད་ན།
- ⁵ཆོག་མ་བཤད་ཡིད་ལ་འང་མི་གོ།
- ⁶མ་འབྲད་ལྷན་པོ་ཤིང་མི་འབར།
- ⁷འཇིག་རྟེན་གསུམ་གྱི་དཔེ་རེད་ལགས།
- ⁸ད་ལེགས་སོ་དང་པོ་ནི་ལྷ་སྒྲ་མའི་ཆོས་ར་ནང་ལ་ལེགས་སོ་ཡོད་རྒྱ་རེད།
- ⁹ལྷ་སྒྲ་མའི་ཆོས་དར་བས་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ཡིན།
- ¹⁰ལེགས་སོ་གཉིས་པ་ནི་གོང་དང་དཔོན་པོའི་བྲིམས་ར་ནང་ལ་ལེགས་སོ་ཡོད་རྒྱ་རེད།
- ¹¹གོང་དང་དཔོན་པོའི་བྲིམས་དར་བའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ཡིན།
- ¹²ལེགས་སོ་གསུམ་པ་ནི་མ་དང་ཨ་སྤུའི་གཉེན་ར་ནང་ལ་ལེགས་སོ་ཡོད་རྒྱ་རེད།
- ¹³མ་དང་ཨ་སྤུ་གཉེན་དར་བས་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ཡིན།
- ¹⁴ལེགས་སོའི་འོ་རྒྱས་དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན་ལ།

He then stated that it was an auspicious day, and asked all elders, women, men and audience members to pay attention.

- ¹⁵ ད་ལྟོ་གྱི་ཆེ་རིམ་གྱི་གསུམ།
¹⁶ ལྟོ་གྱི་མ་དང་ཨ་བུ།
¹⁷ བར་གྱི་བུ་ཆ་བུ་མོ།
¹⁸ འདུས་ཆོགས་རྣམ་པ་ལྟ་ཆོགས།
¹⁹ གཞི་ཡི་ཐུགས་རྣ་གཡར་ཅམ་གྱིས་ལགས།
²⁰ ཐུགས་སེམས་ལྟོ་ཅམ་གྱིས་ལགས།

The orator next described the auspiciousness of that day on which people, deities, and all good things had gathered.

- ²¹ ད་དེའི་འཕྲོ་བུ།
²² གནམ་ལ་སྐར་མ་བཟང་།
²³ ས་ལ་དུས་ཆོད་བཟང་།
²⁴ བར་ལ་གཟའ་སྐར་དར།
²⁵ མི་མི་འཛོམས་ལྟ་འཛོམས།
²⁶ ལྟ་ཨོ་རྒྱལ་པ་རྣའི་ཞལ་འཛོམས།
²⁷ བུམ་པའི་ནང་ལ་རྩལ་འཛོམས།
²⁸ དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ནང་ལ་ལྟ་འཛོམས།
²⁹ བ་འོ་མའི་ནང་ལ་ཐམས་ཅད་འཛོམས།
³⁰ འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་དཔེ་ནང་ལ་ཡོད་ཆུ་རེད་ལགས།

He then described the creation of the world.

- ³¹ ད་ཕྱི་སྟོད་འཇིག་རྟེན་ཆགས་ཚུལ།
³² རང་བཟུང་སེམས་ཅན་སྦྱིས་ཚུལ།
³³ སྦྱིས་བུ་དམ་པ་བྱོན་ཚུལ།
³⁴ དགེ་འདུན་ཅ་གསུམ་ཆགས་ཚུལ།
³⁵ དེ་སྤྱུང་ཨ་དགའ་དང་བྲག་སྤོན་མོ་ཆགས་དང་ཚུན་ཆད།
³⁶ ཁ་སང་དེ་རིང་པན་ཆད་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རེ་བཤད་ན།
³⁷ རྟེན་མཚན་མགོ་མེད་གྱི་བར་དུ་བཤད་ཆུ་རིམ་པ་ལྟར་ཡོད་ཆུ་རེད་ལགས།

- ³⁸བཤད་མི་དགོས་བན་ཆན་གྱི་ཆོས།
³⁹བསྟེན་མི་དགོས་ཇོ་མོའི་སྟེན་འདྲ།
⁴⁰བྱེ་སྟོང་འཇིག་རྟེན་ཆགས་ཚུལ་ལོ་རྒྱས་ཟུར་ཙམ་ཞིག་བཤད་ན།
⁴¹ད་དང་པོ་མེད་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་མེ་རི་རིན་ཆེན་འབར་བ་ཆགས།
⁴²གཉིས་པ་རྒྱང་གི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་རྒྱང་རི་རྩོུ་རྩོ་གྲུ་ཆགས།
⁴³གསུམ་པ་རྒྱ་ཡི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་རྒྱ་རི་འཁོར་ལོ་ཆགས།
⁴⁴དེ་ཡི་སྟེང་དབང་ཆེན་གསེར་གྱི་ས་གཞི་བཏིང་།
⁴⁵གསེར་གྱི་རི་བདུན་ཆགས།
⁴⁶རོལ་པའི་མཆོ་བདུན་ཆགས།
⁴⁷སྒྲིང་བཞི་སྒྲིང་ཕྱན་བརྒྱད་ཆགས།
⁴⁸ཤར་ལུས་འཕགས་སྒྲིང་ཆགས།
⁴⁹སྟོ་འཇོམ་བྱ་སྒྲིང་ཆགས།
⁵⁰ལུབ་བ་སྒྲང་སྟོང་ཆགས།
⁵¹བྱང་སྟེན་མི་སྟན་ཆགས།
⁵²འཇོམ་བྱའི་སྒྲིང་དང་རྩ་ཡབ་སྒྲིང་ཆགས།
⁵³སྟེན་མི་སྟན་དང་སྟེན་མི་སྟན་ཆགས།
⁵⁴རིམ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རི་བཤད་ན།
⁵⁵ཉིན་མཆོན་མགོ་མེད་གྱི་བར་དུ་བཤད་རྒྱ་རིམ་པ་ལྟར་སོགས་ཡོད་རྒྱ་རིང་
 ལགས།
⁵⁶དེ་མང་པར་འཕེན་ཉུང་ཚུར་བསྟུས།
⁵⁷འཇིག་རྟེན་ཆགས་རིམ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱས་ཟུར་ཙམ་བཤད་ན་དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན་ལགས།

The orator praised the dancers in the next verse, comparing male dancers to a shining sun and female dancers to a shining moon. Their decorations were likened to trees in summer, their beauty to a rainbow, and their voices to cuckoos'. Finally, the circle of dancers was compared to a lake.

- ⁵⁸ད་དེའི་འཕྲོ་བ།
⁵⁹དེ་རིང་གི་རིམ་པ་ལ།

- ⁶⁰ བོ་ར་ཨ་བ་པ་ཏ།
⁶¹ བོ་ར་བཀ་ཤིས་རྟགས་བརྒྱད་ཡིན།
⁶² བཀ་ཤིས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ཡིན།
⁶³ སྔ་གཡམས་བོ་ལ་བལྟས་ན་ཉི་མ་ཤར་འདྲ་ཡིན།
⁶⁴ མ་གཡོན་བོ་ལ་བལྟས་ན་ཟླ་བ་ཤར་འདྲ་ཡིན།
⁶⁵ ལུས་རྒྱན་ཆ་ལ་བལྟས་ན་ཅི་ཐོག་བརྒྱན་འདྲ་ཡིན།
⁶⁶ བོ་ར་ཨ་བ་པ་ཏ་བོ་ར་བཀ་ཤིས་རྟགས་བརྒྱད་དེ་བཀ་ཤིས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་
 ཡིན།
⁶⁷ ད་མ་ལྷ་ཅན་གྱིས་ནམ་མཐའ་གང་།
⁶⁸ རྒྱག་རྒྱང་ཅན་གྱིས་བར་ལྷང་གང་།
⁶⁹ སོག་ལྷམ་ཅན་གྱིས་ས་གཞི་གང་།
⁷⁰ བོ་ར་འདི་ཡི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རེ་བཤད་ན་དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན་ལགས།
⁷¹ ཨ་ཙི་པ་ཏ་ལྷ་ཡི་རྒྱན་རྒྱག་ཡིན།
⁷² སེར་ཆེན་མེ་རྟོག་སྤང་གི་རྒྱན་རྒྱག་ཡིན།
⁷³ ར་མ་དཀར་པོ་སོག་གི་རྒྱན་རྒྱག་ཡིན།
⁷⁴ རྒྱན་རབས་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རེ་བཤད་ན་དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན་ལགས།
⁷⁵ ད་ལྷག་གི་མེ་དན་བཤད་རྒྱ་ཆེན་མཐའ་མ་བསྐྱས་མི་དོ(སྟབ)།
⁷⁶ བྱ་དན་འཕྱར་རྒྱ་ཆེན་མཐའ་མ་འབབ་མི་དོ(སྟབ)།
⁷⁷ མི་དན་བཤད་རྒྱ་ཆེན་ན་ཡར་ལྷང་རྒྱང་གིས་གང་།
⁷⁸ རྟ་དན་རྒྱགས་འདྱར་ཆེན་མིག་པ་ཁྲག་གིས་གང་།
⁷⁹ ཟེར་རྒྱ་དེ་འཇིག་རྟེན་གསུམ་གྱི་དཔེ་ནང་ཡོད་རྒྱ་ཞི།
⁸⁰ རྣམ་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་སྟགས་ལ་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར་དུ་དེ་འདྲ་རེད་ལ།

The orator then praised the mountains that surround the village and stated that in the past an important leader lived in this village, whereas, at present, the local government is based there.

- ⁸¹ ད་བང་སྤང་ཁྱུང་ཆེན་གདན་ཐང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རེ་བཤད་ན།
⁸² རྟེན་མཚན་མགོ་མེད་གྱི་བར་དུ་བཤད་རྒྱ་ཡོད་རྒྱ་རེད་ལགས།
⁸³ མང་པར་འཕེན་ཁྱུང་ཚུར་བསྐྱས་པ་བཤད་ན།

- ⁸⁴ རྟེན་ནས་རི་མི་འགྱུར་བའི་གཞི་བདག་རྒྱལ་བོ་གཡུང་རླུང་ལྷན་དགྲ།
⁸⁵ བ་དང་ཨ་ཁུ་ཡི་གྲོས་ར་སྒྲོར་འདྲ་ཡིན།།
⁸⁶ རྒྱལ་བྱ་དགེ་སྟོན་པོ་སྟོང་དེ།
⁸⁷ མ་དང་ཨ་ཁུ་འི་བྱ་རྒྱུད་བར་འདྲ་རེད།།
⁸⁸ བྱ་ཟས་ཤེལ་གྱི་མཚོད་རྟེན་ནི་མཐའ་མར་མི་འགྲོ་བའི་གཏེར་ཡིན།།
⁸⁹ བྱང་གི་རྩ་མོང་རུས་ལྷན་རྒྱལ་བོ།།
⁹⁰ དེ་བྱང་དག་སྒྲོ་བདེབ་(རྒྱག་)མི་ཡིན།།
⁹¹ བར་སྐད་ཁྱུང་ཆེན་གདན་ཐང་དེ།།
⁹² ས་བསོད་ནམས་བསགས་པའི་ས་ཆ་ཡིན།།
⁹³ ས་སྟོན་ལམ་ཐོབ་པའི་ས་ཆ་ཡིན།།
⁹⁴ རྒྱ་ཚོགས་རྟེན་བའི་ཆོ་ལ་བར་སྐད་ལྷགས་པོ་ཆང་ཆགས་ས་ཡིན།།
⁹⁵ རྒྱ་ཚོགས་གསར་བའི་ཆོ་ལ་ལྷེ་ཤོག་མེད་གཞུང་ཆགས་ས་ཡིན།།
⁹⁶ གནས་ཡར་བཀྱགས་གྱི་ཀ་བ།།
⁹⁷ ས་མར་གནས་གྱི་མཛེས་རི་ཡིན།།
⁹⁸ བར་སྐད་ལྷགས་པོ་ཆང་དེ།།
⁹⁹ བརྒྱ་ལྷག་འཆོ་ཡི་རྩི་པོ་ཡིན།།
¹⁰⁰ རྟེན་རྟ་བཏགས་ཀྱི་ཕུར་པ་ཡིན།།
¹⁰¹ རྒྱ་ལྷེ་ཆོ་ལ་གཏོར་འདྲ་ཡིན།།
¹⁰² རྟེན་ལྷེ་བརྒྱ་ལྷག་འཆོ་འདྲ་ཡིན།།
¹⁰³ དེ་བར་སྐད་ལྷགས་པོ་ཆང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱས་ཟུར་ཙམ་བཤད་ན།།
¹⁰⁴ མདའ་དཔོན་རྒྱག་རྩ་ཡི་ནང་དུ་ཡོད།།
¹⁰⁵ མི་སྦྱོས་ཟིན་གྱི་སྒྲ།།
¹⁰⁶ དག་པར་རླུང་གི་ཐོ་བ་ཡོད་མཁན།།
¹⁰⁷ ཟས་རྒྱར་བཟུང་གི་སྐམ་པ་ཡོད་མཁན།།
¹⁰⁸ བར་སྐད་ལྷགས་པོ་ཆང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱས་ཟིན་ཙམ་རེ་བཤད་ན་དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན་ལ།།
¹⁰⁹ བར་སྐད་ཁྱུང་ཆེན་གདན་ཐང་དེ།།
¹¹⁰ རྟེན་ཐང་འོག་ཐང་བར་ཐང་གསུམ།།
¹¹¹ རྟེན་ཐང་ནི་ལྷ་སྒྲ་མའི་ཆོས་ར་སྒྲོར་ས།།
¹¹² བར་ཐང་ནི་གོང་དཔོན་པོའི་ཁྱིམས་ར་སྒྲོར་ས།།
¹¹³ འོག་ཐང་ནི་མ་ཨ་སྒྲ་ཡི་གཉེན་ར་སྒྲོར་ས།།

- ¹¹⁴དེ་འཕྲོ་ཅུ།
¹¹⁵སྟ་སྟ་མའི་ཚས་ར་ནང་ལ་སྟག་གདན་ར་མོ་ཅན་ཡོད་ས།
¹¹⁶གོང་དཔོན་པོའི་ཁྱིམས་ར་ནང་ལ་གཟིག་གདན་ཐིག་ལེ་ཅན་ཡོད་ས།
¹¹⁷མ་ཨ་སྟུའི་གཉེན་ར་ནང་ལ་བལ་གདན་དཀར་ཡོ་ཅན་ཡོད་ས།
¹¹⁸སྟ་སྟ་མའི་ཚས་དར་ས།
¹¹⁹གོང་དཔོན་པོའི་ཁྱིམས་དར་ས།
¹²⁰མ་ཨ་སྟུ་ཡི་གཉེན་དར་ས།
¹²¹ས་ཆ་འདི་ཡི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རེ་བཤད་ན།
¹²²བྱ་མོ་པར་འགོ་ཡི་སྦྱིད་འཕྲོ་སྟག་ས།
¹²³མནལ་མ་ཚུར་བསྟུ་ཡི་སྦྱིད་གཞི་བཏིང་ས།
¹²⁴གཞན་དང་མི་འདྲ་གང་དང་མི་མཉམ།
¹²⁵བང་སྦད་བྱང་ཆེན་གདན་ཐང་།
¹²⁶རྟ་པོ་གཡུང་རྩུང་གྲུན་འབྱིལ།
¹²⁷རྒྱ་གཙང་རྒྱད་རྩོན་པོ་གྲུན་འབྱེལ་བཟོ།
¹²⁸འགོ་ལྷགས་མི་འདྲ་དགོས་པ་ལེན་གསུམ་ཡོད།
¹²⁹དེ་འཕྲོ་ཅུ།
¹³⁰ད་ལམ་ཡར་བྱག་དེ་རྒྱ་གར་ཡུལ་ལ་བྱག།
¹³¹རྒྱ་གར་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡི་ཚས་གཡང་ལེན་ས།
¹³²ལམ་པར་བྱག་དེ་ཨ་ཆེ་རྟོར་ལ་བྱག།
¹³³ཨ་ཆེ་རྟོར་ནས་རྟ་གཡང་ལེན་ས།
¹³⁴ལམ་མར་བྱག་དེ་བལ་པོ་ཡུལ་ལ་བྱག།
¹³⁵བལ་པོ་ཡུལ་ནས་རྟོར་གཡང་ལེན་ས།
¹³⁶དབྱར་ཟླ་གསུམ་ནི་འོ་སྟུ་འབྱིལ་ས།
¹³⁷དགུན་ཟླ་གསུམ་ནི་ཆང་སྟུ་འབྱིལ་ས།
¹³⁸ཆས་དུས་རྒྱན་མི་ལས་ང་སྟུ་འབྱིལ་ས།
¹³⁹ཕྱི་རྫོང་ཆེན་ཁྲ་མོ་དེ་མར་རྟག་གི་གདན་འདྲ།
¹⁴⁰ནང་དཔོན་པོ་བཟང་པོ་དེ་མ་མའི་སྦྱིང་འདྲ།
¹⁴¹སྟག་པར་འགོ་ཡི་ར་མ་གཙོད་ས།
¹⁴²ལྷ་ལྷ་རྒྱུར་འོང་གི་ན་ཚགས་བཏག་ས།
¹⁴³ས་ཆ་འདི་ཡི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རེ་བཤད་ན་དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན་ལ།

He then described the origin of the nine families of Bang smad Village, and named the traditional leaders' families of Nyag rong.

- ¹⁴⁴བང་སྒྲུང་ཚེས་སྟོང་དུད་མགོ་དགུ་དེ་མིང་པ་དང་པོ་ཆགས་པ་ཡིན།
¹⁴⁵དུད་ཁ་ཆགས་དེ་ནས་ཆགས་པ་ཡིན་མཁན།
¹⁴⁶ཡར་ཁང་གི་བདག་པོ།
¹⁴⁷མར་ས་ཡི་བདག་པོ།
¹⁴⁸ཚེས་སྟོང་དུད་མགོ་དགུ་དེ་འབྲ་ཡིན་ལ།
¹⁴⁹པ་ཚ་ཚ་ནང་གི་ཚོ་ཚོ་ཡོད།
¹⁵⁰ཚོ་པ་བཞི་གསུམ་བརྩ་གཉིས་ཆགས།
¹⁵⁰བང་སྒྲུང་ཚེས་སྟོང་དུད་མགོ་དགུ་
¹⁵²མ་རེད་པ་ལྟེ་བ།
¹⁵³གྱི་རེ་བྱ་མཚོ་ཚང་།
¹⁵⁴སྒྲེལ་པོ་ཨ་སྒྲི་ཚང་།
¹⁵⁵གང་ཁུ་ངག་གི་ཚང་།
¹⁵⁶རི་སྒྲེ་འབྲེ་སང་ཚང་།
¹⁵⁷སྤང་ལོ་སྒྱུ་འབོ་ཚང་།
¹⁵⁸སྟོང་ར་ལུང་བག་ཚང་།
¹⁵⁹ཕུ་ཡིག་དག་ལྟ་ཚང་།
¹⁶⁰དེའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རེ་བཤད་ན།
¹⁶¹ཉིན་མཚན་མགོ་མེད་གྱི་བར་དུ།
¹⁶²བཤད་རྒྱ་རིམ་པ་ལྟར་སོགས་ཡོད་རྒྱ་རེད་ལ།

Next, the orator praised Mtsho kha Monastery.

- ¹⁶³ད་དེའི་འཕྲོ་བ།
¹⁶⁴དགོན་ཆེན་བརྩ་དང་བརྩ་གསུམ་ཡོད།
¹⁶⁵དགོན་ཆུང་རྩེ་བ་རྩེ་བ་གངས་མེད་ཡོད།
¹⁶⁶མང་པར་འཕེན་ཉུང་ཆུར་བསྐྱ།
¹⁶⁷མཚོ་ཁ་ལྷན་སྒྲིང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རེད་བཤད་ན།
¹⁶⁸ད་ལྟ་སྐབས་པའི་སྐབས་གནས་ཡིན།

¹⁶⁹ཕྱི་མ་འདྲན་པའི་སངས་རྒྱལ་ཡིན།
¹⁷⁰ཤེ་བོ་ཐམས་ཅད་རྣམ་ཤེས་སྤར་ས།
¹⁷¹གསོན་བོ་ཡི་ཆོ་དབང་སྟོར་ས།
¹⁷²སྟང་ནས་རི་མི་འགྱུར་བའི་གཞི་བདག་གཡར་རི་སང་ག།
¹⁷³འོག་ནས་མཆོ་མི་འགྱུར་བའི་ཤི་ཁ་བ་ལའི།
¹⁷⁴སྟོང་རིག་འཛིན་གྱི་གདུང་རྒྱུད་མ་ཆད་པར།
¹⁷⁵བར་ཆོས་སྟོང་གི་ཁ་རྒྱངས་མ་ཡལ་བ།
¹⁷⁶འོག་མཆོ་མི་ཡི་རགས་ཏ་མ་སྐམ་པར།
¹⁷⁷རྩྭ་ཡར་བཅག་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་གནས་རྩོ།
¹⁷⁸ཤིང་ཡར་སྐྱེས་ཐམས་ཅད་གནས་ཤིང་།
¹⁷⁹ཁུ་མར་བབས་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་གནས་ཁུ།
¹⁸⁰མཆོ་ཁ་ཡུའུ་སྟོང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རེ་བཤད་ན།
¹⁸¹ཉིན་མཚན་མགོ་མེད་གྱི་བར་དུ་བཤད་རྒྱ་ཡོད་པ་རེད།

The orator then described the three most famous holy mountains in Nyag rong: Kha ba lung ring, Skyobs 'byin seng nag, and Shang long brag dkar.

¹⁸²ད་དེའི་འཕྲོ་བ།
¹⁸³གནས་ཆེན་བརྒྱ་དང་བཅུ་གསུམ་ཡོད།
¹⁸⁴གནས་རྒྱུད་ཅིབ་ཅིབ་གངས་མེད་ཡིན།
¹⁸⁵བོད་གངས་ཅན་སྟོངས་ཀྱི་ཁུ་བཞི་དང་སྤང་དུག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རེ་བཤད་ན།
¹⁸⁶ཉིན་མཚན་མགོ་མེད་གྱི་བར་དུ་བཤད་རྒྱ་ཡོད་དེ།
¹⁸⁷མང་པར་འཕེན་ཉུང་ཚུར་བསྐྱས།
¹⁸⁸ཤར་ཕྱོགས་མ་རྒྱལ་སྟོན་ར།
¹⁸⁹ཟླ་ལིང་གཡུ་ཡི་མཆོ་སྟོན་བོ།
¹⁹⁰གསེར་གྱི་འབྲུག་རི་སྐྱག་པོ།
¹⁹¹དེ་ཡི་ནང་དུ་ཉག་ཨ་རྩོ་རྩོ་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རེ་བཤད་ན།
¹⁹²ཉག་སྟོང་ཁ་བ་ལུང་རིང་དེ་གངས་ཀྱི་རི།
¹⁹³གངས་ལ་སང་གི་མ་བྱ་ཆགས།
¹⁹⁴སང་གི་ལ་གཡུ་རལ་རྒྱས།

- 195 ཉག་སྒྲུང་སྟོབས་འབྲེན་སང་ནག་དེ་ནགས་ཀྱི་རི།
 196 ནགས་ལ་སྟག་མོ་མ་བུ་ཆགས།
 197 སྟག་མོ་མ་བུ་འཛུམ་དུག་རྒྱས།
 198 བྱིར་སྟམ་ན་ནགས་རི་ནག་པོ།
 199 རང་ཉར་ན་ཕུག་ན་རྩྭ་རྩེ་ཡི་སྟུལ་བ།
 200 དབྱར་ཁྲ་གསུམ་ནི་སྟོན་པོ་གཡུ་དང་འདྲ།
 201 སྟོན་ཁྲ་གསུམ་ནི་སེར་པོ་གསེར་དང་འདྲ།
 202 དགུན་ཁྲ་གསུམ་ནི་ཁྲ་པོ་གཟེ་དང་འདྲ།
 203 གངས་རི་དཀར་པོ་འི་དབུ་ལ།
 204 རྩྭ་རི་སྟོན་པོ་འི་སྟེང་དཀྱི།
 205 ནགས་རི་ནག་པོ་འི་ན་བཟའ་ཡིན།
 206 གཙང་རྒྱུད་རྒྱ་ཡི་མཐའ་ཤམ་ཡིན།
 207 རྩྭ་ཡར་བཅག་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་གནས་རྩྭ།
 208 ཤིང་ཡར་སྟེས་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་གནས་ཤིང་།
 209 རྒྱ་མར་འབབ་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་གནས་རྒྱ་ཡིན།
 210 སྟོབས་འབྲེན་སང་ནག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རེད་བཤད་ན་དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན།
 211 བར་གྱི་ཤང་ལོང་བྲག་དཀར་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རེ་བཤད་ན།
 212 ཤ་གནའ་གློ་གསུམ་གྱི་ཅེད་མོ་ཅེ་ས།
 213 རྩྭ་ཡར་བཅག་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་གནས་རྩྭ།
 214 ཤིང་ཡར་སྟེས་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་གནས་ཤིང་།
 215 རྒྱ་མར་འབབ་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་གནས་རྒྱ་ཡིན།
 216 བྱིར་སྟམ་ན་གངས་རི་དཀར་པོ།
 217 ང་ཉས་ན་སྟུན་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་སྟུལ་བ།
 218 དེའི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རེ་བཤད་ན་དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན་ལ།
 219 རྩྭ་བྲག་དཀར་རྩྭ་རྩེ་དབྱིག་ཚུལ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱས་རེ་བཤད་ན།
 220 དར་དཀར་པོ་གནམ་ལ་འཕྱར་འདྲ།
 221 རྩེར་ནང་བྱེ་མར་སྒྲུངས་འདྲ།
 222 ཉག་ཨ་རྩྭ་རྩྭ་རྩྭ་མཐའ་མར་མི་འགྲོ་བའི་རྟེན།
 223 ཤ་གནའ་གློ་གསུམ་གྱི་ཅེད་མོ་ཅེ་ས།
 224 རྩྭ་ཡར་བཅག་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་གནས་རྩྭ།

225 ཤིང་ཡར་སྐྱེས་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་གནས་ཤིང་།
 226 རྒྱ་མར་འབབ་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་གནས་རྒྱ་ཡིན།
 227 རྒྱ་བྲག་དཀར་དོ་རྩེ་དབྱིངས་མཚུངས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རེ་བཤད་ན་དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན་
 ལ།

He next praised the groom's and the bride's parents.

228 ད་གཏམ་མང་བོ་བཤད་ན་ཁ་ན་སྤྱད།
 229 ཤ་རྒྱུས་པ་ཟས་ན་སོ་ན་སྤྱད་མ་གཏོགས་ཅི་ཡང་མེད་དེ།
 230 ཏུང་ཁ་གཉིས་ལ་ཐུག་ན།
 231 གནའ་གཅིག་གི་ཁ་ལ་མ་སོང་ན།
 232 ས་རིགས་དཀར་བོ་ཏུང་ལས་ཆད་རབས།
 234 ཏུང་དཀར་བོ་ལ་འབྱར་རྩེས་མེད་རབས།
 235 མ་རིགས་ཐོན་བོ་གཡུ་ལས་ཆད་རབས།
 236 དགུང་ཐོན་བོ་ལ་གས་སྤབ་མེད་རབས།
 237 ལོ་རྒྱུས་རེ་བཤད་ན།
 238 ཉེན་མཚན་མགོ་མེད་ཀྱི་བར་ཏུ་བཤད་རྒྱ་རིམ་པ་ལྟར་སོགས་ཡོད་རྒྱ་རེད་
 ལགས།
 239 ད་མང་པར་འཕེན་ཏུང་ཚུར་བཞུས།

The orator then praised the groom and his family...

240 བྱ་ཉི་མ་འོད་ཟེར་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རེ་བཤད་ན།
 241 དགུང་ཨ་ཐོན་ལས་ཆད་ཀྱི་གཞི་མ།
 242 ཁྲི་ཉི་ཟླ་བཀོད་པའི་སྐལ་བ།
 243 སྤེད་པ་ཆགས་དེ་ནས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཤད་ན།
 244 ཉེན་མཚན་མགོ་མེད་བར་ཏུ་བཤད་རྒྱ་ཡོད་རྒྱ་རེད་ལགས།
 245 ས་རིགས་དཀར་བོ་ཏུང་ལས་ཆད་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཤད་ན།
 245 མ་རེ་ས་ཐེ་ཆང་གི་རྒྱུད་པ་ཡིན།
 246 ཉེན་མཚན་མགོ་མེད་ཀྱི་བར་ཏུ་བཤད་རྒྱ་རབ་དང་རིམ་པ་ཡོད་རྒྱ་རེད་
 ལགས།
 247 བྱ་ཤ་གཞུགས་གཞི་མི་འདྲ།
 248 བྱ་ཤ་གཞུགས་གཞི་འདྲ་ཉི།

250 ནང་ཆ་བྱ་དགུ་མི་འདྲ།
 251 མ་བྱ་མཁེས་དུག་འདྲ་ལས་ཁ་མང་།
 252 ཕྱི་ཤ་གཟུགས་དབྱིབས་འདྲ་སྟེ།
 253 རྩ་མོ་ར་རྩེ་འདྲ་ལས་རྩོ་རབས་བཤད་ན།
 254 དག་པར་རྟུང་གི་ཐོབ་ཡོད་རབས།
 255 ཟས་ཚུར་འཇུ་སྐྱམ་པ་ཡོད་རབས།
 256 དེའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཤད་ན་ཉིན་མཚན་མགོ་མེད་བར་དུ་བཤད་རྒྱ་ཡོད་རྒྱ་རེད་
 དེ།
 257 ད་རྒྱུ་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཅེད་གེ་ཅག་རྒྱ་མ་གཏོགས་ཅི་མེད་དུ་ལགས།

... and the bride and her family.

258 ད་བྱ་མོ་གཡུ་འབྲུག་ལྷ་མོ་ཡི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རེ་བཤད་ན།
 259 ད་གནའ་གཅིག་གི་ཁ་ལ་མ་སོང་ན།
 260 མོ་རང་རིགས་ཀྱི་རིག་པ་གསེར་ཡིན་རབས།
 261 ཕྱིར་ཤ་གཟུགས་གཞི་འདྲ་སྟེ།
 262 ནང་ཆ་བྱ་དགུ་མི་འདྲ་ལས།
 263 ནང་ཆ་བྱ་དགུ་འདྲ་ལས།
 264 མ་བྱ་མཁེས་དུག་འདྲ་ལས་ཁ་མོ།
 265 ཕྱིར་ཆགས་གཟུགས་དབྱིབས་འདྲ་སྟེ།
 266 མཛོ་མོ་ར་རྩེ་འདྲ་ལས་རྩོ་རབས་བཤད་ན།
 267 ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཤད་ན་ཉིན་མཚན་མགོ་མེད་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་བཤད་རྒྱ་རིམ་པ་ལྟར་
 སྟགས་ཡོད་རྒྱ་རེད་དེ།
 268 བཤད་མི་དགོས་བན་གན་གྱི་ཚོས་འདྲ།
 269 བསྐྱེ་མི་དགོས་རྩོ་མོ་ཡི་སྐྱེ་འདྲ།
 270 རྒྱུས་ཡོད་མདུན་ལ་རྒྱུས་གཏམ།
 271 རྒྱུས་མེད་མདུན་ལ་ཕྱུག་གཏམ།
 272 ཏྲ་བདག་མདུན་ལ་ཏྲའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས།
 273 མཛོ་བདག་མདུན་ལ་མཛོའི་རིག་གཏམ།
 274 སྐྱ་སེར་མདུན་ལ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་ལུང་འགྲེལ།
 275 སྐྱེ་དཔོན་མདུན་ལ་བྲིམས་གཅོད་བྱེད་སྟངས།

276 འབྲོག་པའི་མདུན་ལ་ནོར་ལྷག་འཛོལ་གསུངས།
 277 རིང་བའི་མདུན་ལ་སོ་ནམ་ལག་ཆས།
 278 ཚིང་བའི་མདུན་ལ་རིན་ཐང་ཆེ་ཆུང་།
 279 མགར་བའི་མདུན་ལ་ཐོ་བ་རྒྱག་སྟོངས།
 280 བཟོ་བོ་མདུན་ལ་ཆོས་བྱེད་ལག་ཉེས།
 281 ལྷག་གི་ཉན་གི་ཅག་རྒྱ་མ་གཏོགས་ཅི་མེད་དུ་ལགས།
 282 ད་གནའ་གཅིག་གི་ཁ་ལ་མ་སོང་ན།
 283 མང་པར་འཕེན་ཉུང་ཚུར་བསྐྱུ།

The orator then described and praised *dar dkar*.

284 ད་འཇལ་དར་ཉན་མ་བདེ་ལེགས་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རེ་མ་བཤད་ན།
 285 ལྷ་ལྷ་མའི་ཆོས་ལ་བྱུ་ན་དར་ལ་བསྟོད།
 286 གོང་དཔོན་པོའི་ཁྱིམ་ལ་བྱུ་ན་དར་ལ་བསྟོད།
 287 མ་ཨ་སྤུའི་གཉན་ལ་བྱུ་ན་དར་ལ་བསྟོད།
 288 དེ་ནི་དར་དཀར་བོ་ཡི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རེ་མ་བཤད་ན།
 289 ཁྱོད་རྣམ་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཐུགས་ལ་ཕན་རྒྱུ་མ་རེད།
 290 བཤད་ནི་བཞག་ན་དར་དཀར་འདི་ནི།
 291 སེར་བོ་གསེར་དང་མཉམ་བཅུག་བྱེད།
 292 དཀར་བོ་དཔུལ་དང་དགུ་སྟོར་བྱས།
 293 རྒྱ་བཟའ་ལྷ་ལྷ་སྟོན་མ་གཟུགས་བཟང་ཐབས་བཟང་།
 294 ཐབས་དང་རྩ་འཁུལ་སྟོན་མ་བཅུགས།
 295 གསེར་གྱི་ཕུར་ཅང་ནང་ནས་བཅུགས།
 296 དཔུལ་གྱི་ཐགས་ཁང་ནང་ནས་ལས།
 297 གསེར་ཕུར་གྱིས་ཡར་བཀྲམ།
 298 དཔུལ་ཕུར་ཡིས་མར་བཀྲམ།
 299 རྟེན་ཆེན་མཛོ་ལ་མི་བཀལ།
 300 ལྷག་རྒྱུང་དེལ་ལ་བཀལ།
 301 སོ་བསོད་ནམས་ཅན་གྱི་ལག་ཏུ་ཕེབས།
 302 ལྷ་ལྷ་མ་ལ་བཏང་ན་ཆོས་དར་ཡིན།
 303 གོང་དཔོན་པོ་ལ་བཏང་ན་ཁྱིམ་དར་ཡིན།

304 མ་ཨ་ལྷ་ལ་བཏང་ན་གཉེན་དར་ཡིན།
 305 བྱ་ཚ་བྱ་མོ་ལ་བཏང་ན་བཅེ་དར་ཡིན།
 306 གཞི་ཡི་དར་དཀར་བོ་བསོད་ནམས་ལེགས་དབང་ཡིན།
 307 ད་དར་མགོ་བཟླ་ཤིས་རྟགས་བརྒྱད།
 308 དགུང་ཨ་ཕྱོན་ལ་བཏང་ན་དགུང་ཨ་ཕྱོན་ལས་མཐོ་མེད།
 309 དགུང་ཨ་ཕྱོན་ལ་ཉི་ལྷ་སྐར་གསུམ་ཆགས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ།
 310 དར་ཤིང་རྩོུ་མཐུད་པ་དེ་རྩོུ་མཐུད་ལ་བྱུག།
 311 རྩོུ་མཐུད་ལས་སྤྱི་མེད།
 312 རྩོུ་མཐུད་ལ་མོད་ཆགས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ།
 313 མི་སྟག་དེ་རྩོུ་མཐུད་ལས་སྤྱི་མཐུད་ལས་ཡིན།
 314 དར་འདབས་ལྷ་ཉིག་ཚ་ལོ་དེ་གཙང་པོ་ལྷ་ལ་བྱུག།
 315 གཙང་པོ་ལྷ་ལས་རིང་མེད།
 316 གཙང་པོ་ལྷ་ལ་ཉ་སྐར་མ་བྱ་ཆགས།
 317 ཉ་སྐར་མ་བྱ་ལ་གསོན་ཤུགས་རྒྱས།
 318 མི་ཚོ་དེ་གཙང་པོ་ལྷ་ལས་རིང་རྒྱ་ཡི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ན་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་
 ཡིན་ལགས།
 319 དར་དཀར་བོ་ཡི་ལོ་རྒྱས་ཉུང་བསུས་ཙམ་རེ་བཤད་ན་དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན།

Next he stated that the groom and bride rewarded the dancers with 300 RMB.

320 ད་བྱ་ཚ་དང་བྱ་མོ་ཡི་འདུས་རྟེན་རེ་མ་བཤད་ན།
 321 ཨ་འདི་ནང་ན།
 322 ད་བྱ་ནི་ཉི་མ་འོད་ཟེར་དང་བྱ་མོ་གཡུ་འབྲུག་སྤྱི་མ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས།
 323 བྱ་ཚ་བྱ་མོའི་འདུས་རྟེན་སྒོར་མོ་སོ་བརྒྱ།
 324 ཨ་ཕྱོད་ལྷེ་ཤ་སྤྱོད་ཆང་།
 325 མི་རྟོག་ཆུང་ལྷེ་མཆོད་པའི་རྩལ།
 326 མར་མེ་ཆུང་ལྷེ་གནས་པའི་གཞི།
 327 ལྷ་བཤོས་ཆུང་ལྷེ་རི་རབ་ཀྱི་རྟེན།
 328 ཡོན་ཆབ་ཆུང་ལྷེ་རྒྱ་མཆོ་ཡི་ཆུལ།
 329 དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན།

In the final verse, the orator expressed the wish that the groom's and bride's families would be healthy, their livestock free of disease, that the groom and the bride would become more powerful and wealthy, and extend their kin network.

330 ད་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཚོག་གཅིག་སྒྲོན་ལམ་ཚོག་གཉིས་པར་ཆད།།

331 ཚོག་གསུམ་ཚར་རྒྱ་མགོ་རྩ་དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན།།

332 ད་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཚོག་གཅིག་སྒྲོན་ལམ་ཚོག་གཉིས་ནི།།

333 ཁང་སྤེང་རྒྱ་ཡིས་གང་།།

334 བར་གི་མི་ཡིས་གང་།།

335 ར་བ་ཞོར་གྱིས་གང་།།

336 བཅན་དར་ཕྱག་གསུམ་འཛོམས།།

337 དར་རྒྱས་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས།།

338 བྱ་རྒྱད་ཆ་གསུམ་འཛོམས།།

339 ཚ་ཨ་ཞང་མདོ་ལྷ་རྒྱས།།

340 ཏྲ་མ་བརྒྱ་དེ་བྱ་བརྒྱ།།

341 ཏྲ་གཡང་བརྒྱ་ཡི་འདོགས་དྲང་གང་།།

342 ལྷག་མ་བརྒྱ་དང་བྱ་བརྒྱ་འཛོམས།།

343 ལྷག་ཚར་མོ་བརྒྱ་ཡི་དྲང་གང་།།

344 འབྲི་མ་བརྒྱ་དང་བྱ་བརྒྱ་འཁོར།།

345 འབྲི་ཐང་རྒྱང་བརྒྱ་ཡི་དྲང་གང་།།

346 མི་ལོ་བརྒྱ་གསུམ་རྩ་ལོ་བརྒྱ་བཞི།།

347 རང་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་ལྔ་ཡི་བར་བྱ།།

348 སྤེང་གི་མི་ལ་ན་ཚ་མེད་རྒྱ།།

349 འོག་གི་ཚོག་ལ་གོད་ཁ་མེད་རྒྱ།།

350 ཡུལ་ལ་འཕེལ་འགྱུར་མེད་རྒྱ།།

351 བཅན་དར་ཕྱག་གསུམ་འཛོམས།།

352 དར་རྒྱས་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས།།

353 ལོ་ཕྱགས་རྟག་བྱ་ལེགས།།

354 མི་ནད་དང་ཕྱགས་ནད་ཐམས་ཅད་རྒྱན་ཆད།།

355 རྟགས་ཐམས་ཅད་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་གྱི་རང་བཞིན།།

³⁵⁶ཚས་ཐམས་ཅད་ལོ་ཡག་གི་སྟེ་མ།།

³⁵⁷ནད་གཤམ་ཆད་ཤི་གཤམ་ཆད་གསོན་གཤམ་སྟེ་ལ།།

³⁵⁸རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་འདྲ་ཡིན་ལགས།།

Figure One.

Cars going to the groom's home are decorated with *dar dkar*.

Figure Two.

These youths wait near the *buw muw la tse* for the bride's car to pass. They will receive money and candies from the occupants.

Figure Three.

This man scatters money and candies to those who made the *buw muw la tse*.

Figure Four.

The greeters dance once in a big circle in front of the bride and her entourage, and the bride's side gives a speech when the dancing finishes. The bride, her entourage, and the greeters then leave for the groom's home.

Figure Five.

The bride and her entourage arrive at the place prepared for them and sit in the following order: *a yɔ*, bride, and the remaining entourage. Greeters provide fruit juice for the *a yɔ* and the bride's entourage.

Figure Six.

The bride and the girl who first holds her hands when she gets out of the car. This girl is chosen by a *bla ma* or *rtsis pa*.

Figure Seven.

The bride sits next to her older brother.

Figure Eight.

After the bride arrives at the groom's home, her helper holds her hand and circles the bucket three times. They then enter the home.

Figure Nine.

The *a yɔ* performs *mchod* to purify the bride in front of the groom's home.

Figure Ten.

The groom's family places *phye mar* in front of the bride to symbolize auspiciousness.

Figure Eleven.

The audience listens to the orator's speech.

Figure Twelve.

Monks chant scriptures in front of the bride and groom, who hold the *g.yang mda'*, which are carried to the *zɔ* on the second floor of the house after the chanting finishes.

Figure Thirteen.

Sring sring (b. 1990) attended middle school for one year. Her family asked her to marry in 2010.

Figure Fourteen

Decorations on the bride's back.

Figure Fifteen.

'Od gsal 'phrin las (b. 1990) is a high school student who married in 2010. His family arranged his marriage because they needed a laborer. His wife helps his family while he continues his education.

Figure Sixteen.

Bkra shis bzang mo (b. 1989, left) is the bride's (right) assistant. She helped the bride dress, prepared food for her, and stayed with her for three days at the groom's home.

Figure Seventeen.

Pad ma sgrol dkar (b. 1988) finished primary school and then stayed home and helped her family farm. Her family arranged her marriage in 2010.

Figure Eighteen.

Decorations and ornaments on the bride's back.

Figure Nineteen.

The large *ʃe hɜ ju* 'gold ring' weighs about seventy grams, whereas the smaller one weighs approximately forty grams.

Figure Twenty.

This *ra tuw* is hung from hip to knee.

Figure Twenty-one.

tɕʰa ma is tied around the waist. *la lu* are made from silver and hung from the hip over the outer thighs.

Figure Twenty-two.

ʃe cuw tʰuw 'gold necklace' and *ʒɜ goŋ* 'coral' are hung around the neck.

Figure Twenty-three.

This *paw ku* is hung from the waist and over the outer left thigh.

Figure Twenty-four.

This dowry was worth approximately 60,000 RMB in 2011.

















































NON-ENGLISH WORD LIST

Words are listed alphabetically. Each entry begins with the term as it appears in the text, followed by translations. Tibetan terms are written in Wylie and Tibetan script, Chinese terms in both *pinyin* and Chinese characters, and Mi nyag terms appear in IPA. Terms prefixed with * indicate a proper noun or a typological translation so that, for example, *location indicates a place name, and *ornament indicates a type of ornament.

?

?a dza, A bag of gunpowder hangs under the three poles in a configuration called *?a dza*. Village leaders ignite the gunpowder after the horserace.

,

'Ba' thang འབའ་ཐང་། Batang 巴塘, *location

'Bang nag a skya thang འབང་ནག་མ་སྐྱ་ཐང་། *location

'Brug thar འབྲུག་ཐར། Zhuta 珠塔, *person

'Brug yul འབྲུག་ཡུལ། Budan 不丹, Bhutan

'bu འབྲུ། bə dzu, chong 虫, worm or insect

'cham འཆས། tɕʰoŋ nboŋ, mianjuwu 面具舞, A religious ritual at Tibetan monasteries. Monks perform wearing masks and ornamented costumes, and dance accompanied by music played by monks using traditional Tibetan instruments. The dances often depict the life of Padmasambhava, the ninth century teacher, and other important religious figures.

'Chi med འཆི་མེད། Qimai 其麦, *person

'Chi med rdo rje འཆི་མེད་རྡོ་རྗེ། Qimai duoji 其麦多吉, *person

'Dab pa འདབ་པ། Daocheng 稻城, *location

'dre mo འདྲེ་མོ། *dze mo, nügui* 女鬼, Witch. A 'dre mo is a woman who stays at home at night but is seen by others outside her home in the village.

'dre skad འདྲེ་སྐད། *ndze ki, guiyu* 鬼语, 'ghost language'

'Dzam gling འཛམ་གླིང་། *dzo li, shijie* 世界, the world

'Jang འཇང་། *jon, Jiang* 绛, An ancient ethnic group who governed Nyag rong and were conquered by King Ge sar.

'Od gsal 'phrin las འོད་གསལ་འཕྲིན་ལས། Esha chile 俄沙赤勒, *person

'phags pa skyabs འཕགས་པ་སྐྱབས། Paba jia 爬巴甲, *person

'phur འཕུར། *jon lon, fei* 飞, to fly

A

A bad ཨ་བད། Abai 阿白, *person

A bzang ཨ་བཟང་། Arong 阿绒, *person

A chos ཨ་ཆོས། Aqing 阿青, *person

A dkar ཨ་དཀར། Aga 阿呷, *person

A g.yang ཨ་གཡང་། Ayong 阿拥, *person

A hung ཨ་ཁུང་། Ahu 阿虎, *person

a ka, a khu ཨ་ཁུ། shubo 叔伯, uncle

a la Jo, A ritual held fourteen days before *le ndze* on the evening of the twenty-ninth day of the eleventh lunar month. Those between the ages of eleven and thirty make bonfires, burn straw torches, and circumambulate the village to drive away ghosts, sicknesses, and other evils.

A lca ཨ་ལ། Ajia 阿甲, *person

A mchun ཨ་མཚུན། Anqing 安青, *person

A mdo ཨ་མདོ། Aduo 安多, *person

a pa, a pha ཨ་པ། *fuqin* 父亲, father
A phyug ཨ་ཕུག *Axu* 阿须, *location
a qa Jo, te ndze Eve
A rga ཨ་ར། *Aga* 阿嘎, *person
A Sha ཨ་ཤ། *Ahua* 阿华, *person
A sne ཨ་སེ། *Anlie* 安烈, *person
a t^hon won, *family
A tshe ཨ་ཙེ། *A ze* 阿泽, *person
a ya, a zhang ཨ་ཨང་། *jiujiu* 舅, maternal uncle

B

ba cu ma, A hamlet in the center of Bang smad Village territory that has five households.
bag gtam བག་གཏམ། *dzon*, wedding speech
bag ma lab rtse, buw muw la tse བག་མ་ལ་རེ་མེ། When the bride leaves her home, youths collect stones in piles, put full buckets of water, and extend cushions by the road. This is called *buw muw la tse*. People wait near the *buw muw la tse* they have constructed and when the bride's car passes a *buw muw la tse*, two of the bride's entourage scatter one or five RMB notes and candy from the car window.
bags rogs བག་རོགས། *buw ru bannia* 伴娘, Bridesmaid. Two bridesmaids assist the bride by preparing her meals and helping her dress.
Ban de tshe ring བན་དེ་ཙེ་རིང་། *Baideng zeren* 白登泽仁, *person
bang khang བང་ཁང་། *nbon gza*, wood house
Bang blo བང་བློ། *p3 la Boluo* 波洛, *location
Bang smad བང་སྐད། *bon mi Bomei* 博美, *location
Bang stod བང་སྟོད། *bon t^ha Bode* 博得, *location

Bar chad lam sel བར་ཆད་ལམ་སེལ། *a scripture

baw na ji, The idea that certain people may fall seriously ill if they encounter the bride enroute to the groom's home.

Bcu gsum བུ་གུམ། ཅེ་ལྡེ་ Shisan 十三, New Year celebrations held on the thirteen day of the eleventh or twelfth lunar month in Nyag rong. Mi nyag speakers refer to it as ཅེ་ལྡེ་ while Nyag skad speakers called it Bcu gsum.

Bdun 'dul rdo rje འདུན་འདུལ་རྡོ་རྗེ། Dundeng duoji 顿登多吉,
*person

be lo, be lo བེ་ལོ། *gaoshanli* 高山栎, A small white-timbered evergreen trees with wood that is very hard to cut, and is often used to make axe handles.

Beijing 北京, *location

Bka' brgyud pa བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་པ། ka ja pa Gajupai 噶居派,
*Buddhist sect

Bkra shis bzang mo བཀྲ་ཤིས་བཟང་མོ། Zhaxi rongmu 扎西绒姆,
*person

Bkra shis bzang po བཀྲ་ཤིས་བཟང་པོ། Zhaxi rongbu 扎西绒布,
*person

Bkra shis che ba བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཆེ་བ། *tša ci tɕʰi vu*, 'Long *bkra shis*' is danced at the end of celebrations that last several days, for example weddings and ཅེ་ལྡེ་.

Bkra shis chos sgrol བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཆོས་སྒྲོལ། Zhaxi qizhen 扎西其珍,
*person

Bkra shis chung ba བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཆུང་བ། *tša ci da vu*, 'Short *bkra shis*' is danced at the end of a day or night of dancing and indicates that the celebration is not yet concluded.

Bkra shis rgyas བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྒྱལ། *tša ci je*, Dancing always concludes with this song, which may be sung as Bkra

shis chung ba 'Short *bkra shis*' or Bkra shis che ba 'Long *bkra shis*'.

bkra shis rtags brgyad བཟླ་ཤིས་རྟགས་བརྒྱད། *t̥sḁ ɕi tuw je, baruixiang* 八瑞相, The Eight Auspicious Symbols consist of the parasol, a pair of gold fish, a treasure vase, the lotus, a white conch shell, an endless knot, a victory banner, and the gold wheel of the *dharma* (Beer 1999).

Bkra shis zla ba བཟླ་ཤིས་ལྷ་བ། Zhaxi dawan 扎西达瓦, *person

Blang dor gsal ba'i me long ལྷང་དོར་གསལ་བའི་མེ་ལང་། *book

Bla ma ལྷ་མ། Lama 拉玛, *person

bla ma ལྷ་མ། *lamu, shangshi* 上师, the superior one, lama

Bla ma klu 'bum ལྷ་མ་ལུ་འབུམ། *person

Blo gros ལྷོ་གོས། Luozen 罗真, *person

Bod sde pa gzhung བོད་སྡེ་པ་གཙུག་། be de pa ཇུ, the Tibetan government

Bon བོན། bə bə, Benjiao 笨教, A Tibetan, non-Buddhist religion

boŋ wə t̥ɕʰə tʰu, A method of marriage arrangement that does not require a matchmaker. Instead, the parents from both families might discuss and reach an agreement themselves.

Brag 'go བྲག་འགོ་Luhuo 炉霍, *location

Brag mgo dgon བྲག་མགོ་དགོན། མཐོ་གཙ་འབུ་Zhaguosi 扎果寺, *monastery

Brgyad zur བརྒྱད་ཟུར། Jiulong 九龙, *location

bro mgo བྲོ་མགོ་*dzo mgo*, dance head, dance leader

bsad བསད།, *sʰi shasi* 杀死, to kill

Bsam pa lhun grub བསམ་པ་ལུན་གུབ། *a scripture

bsang བསང་། *s^hoŋ*, *weisang* 煨桑 *jisi huoyan* 祭祀火烟,
incense offering

bsang khang བསང་ཁང་། *s^hoŋ koŋ, jitan* 祭坛, *bsang altar*

bsang rdzas བསང་རྩམ། *s^hoŋ rdze, shenxiang sizi* 神香食子,
Rtsam pa, butter, tealeaves, and wool. People burn
bsang rdzas with conifer needles as an offering to
mountain deities.

bshad བཤད། *x^hi, jiang* 讲, to say

Bsod nams dar rgyas བསོད་ནམས་དར་རྒྱས། Silong daji 四龙达吉,
*person

Bsod nams dpal mo བསོད་ནམས་དཔལ་མོ། Silong bamu 四龙巴姆,
*person

Bsod nams rdo rje བསོད་ནམས་རྡོ་རྗེ། Silong duoji 四龙多吉,
*person

Bsod nams tshe ring བསོད་ནམས་ཚེ་རིང་། Silong zeren 四龙泽仁,
*person

Bsod nams zla ba བསོད་ནམས་བླ་བ། Silong dawa 四龙达瓦,
*person

Bstan 'dzin བསྟན་འཛིན། Dengzi 登孜, *person

Bstan gnyis gsang sngags gling pa yab yum བསྟན་གཉིས་གསང་
སྒྲུག་གླིང་པ་ཡབ་ཡུམ། *person

Bstan pa བསྟན་པ། Dengba 登巴, *person

btsan བཅན། *tse, shanyao* 山妖, Spirit beings who follow their
leader, Btsan rgod 'bar ba nag po, and have their own
btsan lam 'btsan path'. Building a house on a *btsan lam*
or otherwise blocking or disturbing it results in *btsan*
retaliating by harming people with *btsan mda* 'btsan
arrow'.

btsan lam བཅན་ལམ། *tse loŋ, btsan path*

Btsan mchod བཙན་མཚོད། tse tsa, 'Btsan offering', a ritual to cure illness caused by building a house or digging in a wild place.

btsan mda' བཙན་མདའ། tse mda, *btsan* arrow

Btsan rgod 'bar ba nag po བཙན་རྒོད་འབར་བ་ནག་པོ། the leader of *btsan*

btsir བཙོར། *cə tɕuw, ji* 挤, to squeeze

Bu gc འུ་གེ་ v3 gɛ, Wugen 吴根, *location

Bu long ma འུ་ལོང་མ། Buluman 布鲁曼, Mgon po rnam rgyal (see below) is locally referred to as Bu long ma 'the blind one'.

buw bɛ, This occurs when the bride stays for three days in the groom's home. She does not leave with her entourage, but remains in the groom's home and begins helping the family work. *buw bɛ* is uncommon in Bang smad Village.

buw biŋ tɕʰə, 'giving gifts to the bride and her entourage'. The bride and her entourage stay at the groom's home for three days. A relative of the groom makes a short speech while displaying *buw biŋ buw biŋ* – gifts for the bride and her entourage – on the last day of the wedding party. The groom's family gives gifts to the bride, bride's brothers, *a* ʔə, and other members of the entourage.

buw juw, This refers to when the bride returns to the groom's home one or two months after the wedding is held. The amount of time depends on the groom's family, and their need for laborers. The bride's father typically accompanies her to the groom's home and stays two to three days. They take about fifteen kilograms of meat

and ten kilograms of barley liquor with them as gifts for the groom's family.

buw muw dzə nɬ, a triangular-shaped steamed bread eaten at weddings. It is larger than *dzə nɬ*, which is eaten in daily life.

bya spu བྱ་སྤུ། *pə, yumao* 羽毛, feather

Bya zas lha mo mched bdun བྱ་ཙས་ལྷ་མོ་མཆེད་བདུན། *za za*
*mountain/ mountain deity

byang rus sbal rgyal po བྱང་རུས་སྤེལ་རྒྱལ་པོ། north king turtle

Bzang po བཟང་པོ། Rongbu 绒布, *person

bzhi བཞི། *ṭa, si* 四, four

C

ca k3 sha khu ཅ་ཀལ་ཤ་ཁུ། soup made from chopped, boiled beef with
rtsam pa and salt

chab rom ཆབ་རོམ། *vəŋ, bing* 冰, ice

Chengdu 成都, *location

Chos skyong dud mgo dgu ཆོས་སྐྱོང་དུད་མགོ་དགུ། *tɕʰi sʰoŋ də ɡɔ*
ɡɜ, These nine families are said by elders to have been
brave, energetic, and good warriors.

chu ཅུ། *zə, shui* 水, water

ci naw/ ci gaw, Omens upon the bride's departure to the groom's home. If it is snowing, the bride leaves black footprints when she leaves her home, which is *ci naw* 'black print' in Tibetan. If the bride stays at the groom's home and it is snowing (*ci gaw*) it suggests the bride and groom will have a successful marriage.

D

da ད། *da, xianzai* 现在, now

da de ring ད་དེ་རིང་། *da bə xʰə, jintian* 今天, now, today

da de 'phro ru ད་དེ་འཕྲོ་རུ། *tɕʰɜ dɜ tɕʰɔ kʰi ŋə ma tɕɛ, ranhou*

然后, now, then

dar dkar དར་དཀར། *da ka, hada* 哈达, white silk scarf that symbolizes auspiciousness. People usually offer them to *bla ma* or guests in order to show respect.

dar lcog དར་ལྷོག། *da tconj, jingqi* 经旗, flags with printed scriptures

Dar rtse mdo དར་རྩེ་མདོ། Kangding 康定, *location

Dbal chen དབལ་ཆེན། Baqing 巴青, *person

Dbang ldan དབང་ལྷན། Wengdeng 翁登, *person

Dbang rgyal དབང་རྒྱལ། Wengjia 翁加, *person

Dbu ba དབུ་བ། མཁ་ལ། *wa, Hewa* 核洼, *location

Dbyangs can དབྱངས་ཅན། Yangjin 央金, *person

dbyar rtswa dgun 'bu དབྱར་རྩ་དགུན་འབྲུ *nbə, dongchong xiacao*
冬虫夏草, caterpillar fungus (*Cordyceps sinensis*)

der དེར། *tɕʰə me, zainabian* 在那边, there

də nmi, family name

Dge bsnyen po blo དགེ་བསྟེན་པོ་བློ། *nge n3 polo*, *mountain/
mountain deity

Dgo mchun དགོ་མཚུན། *family

Dgra 'dul དག་འདུལ། Zhade 扎德, *person

Dgung ri དགུང་རི། Guri 谷日, *location

Dkar mdzes དཀར་མཛེས། Ganzi 甘孜, *location

Dkar mdzes dmar ra thang དཀར་མཛེས་དམར་ར་ཐང།, *location

Dkon mchog lha mo དཀོན་མཆོག་ལྷ་མོ། Gengqiu lamu 根求拉姆,
*person

də ki, *ornament

Dpal bzang དབལ་བཟང། Barong 巴绒, *person

Dpal lo དབལ་ལོ། Baluo 巴洛, *person

Dpal yul དབལ་ཡུལ། Baiyu 白玉, *location

dron po རྩོན་པོ། *tsi, wennuade* 温暖的, warm (as in weather)

du ba དུ་བ། *moŋ k^h3, yan* 烟, smoke
Du rtag དུ་རྟག་པོ་ *də t^haw Dida* 地达, *location
dzọ ca, guozi 果子, twisted bread
dzọ te bro rten རྩོ་རྟེན། 'cash' rewards for dancers
dzuw, *ornament
dzoŋ poŋ won, *family

G

Ga krug ག་ཀུག་ *Gazhu* 呷珠, *person
gad mo bgad གད་མོ་བགད། *qa, xiao* 笑, to laugh
gang khung གང་ཁུང་། *goŋ k3, Gongke* 供科, *location
Ge sar གེ་སར། *ge s^huw Gesa Erwang* 格萨尔王, A king who is
 said to have been born in the eleventh century and to
 have ruled the ancient Tibetan kingdom of Gling.
gə nda mu, *location
Gling གླིང་། *li, Ling* 岭, *location
glu shing གླུ་ཤིང་། *Gtor ma* are made with a carved wood
 molds locally known as *glu shing*.
gnyen mna' གཉེན་མཚའ། An oath between one of the bride's
 brothers and the groom that they will not break the
 arranged marriage.
go ba གོ་བ། *mə, ting* 听, hear
Gra ling ག་ལིང་། *Zhale* 扎勒, *person
Grub bla thar ba rgyal mtshan གུབ་བླ་ཐར་བ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། *Taba*
 jiangze 塔巴降泽, *person
grub thob གུབ་ཐོབ། *dzọ t^hoŋ, zhengguozhe* 证果者, saint
Gser rta གསེར་རྟ། *Seda* 色达, *location
Gser thang bla rung lnga rig nang bstan slob gling གསེར་ཐང་བླ་རུང་ལང་རིག་པ་སངས་བུ་སྐྱེ་གླིང་།
 Seda Larong Wuming
 Foxueyuan 色达喇荣五明佛学院, *monastery
Gshin ma གཤིན་མ། *yọ duw, yanluogui* 阎罗鬼, 'butcher or

tyrant' – the bringer of death (see Gshin phud, below)

Gshin phud གཤིན་ཕུད། x^he p^hə, During this ritual, monks repel Gshin ma by chanting scriptures and scattering peas in a house from roof to gate.

gsur གསུར། s^hə rə, jiaoyan 焦烟 huogong 火供, Strips of cloth symbolizing clothing, alcohol, and other items that are burnt, allowing ancestors to receive and enjoy them.

Gto གཏོ། tu, Rangjie 攘解, A ritual for luck and prosperity in the coming year held after 1e ndze.

gtor ma གཏོར་མ། tə mu, shizi 食子, These rtsam pa effigies are often used in rituals by monks and bla ma.

gtugs bro གདུགས་བློ། tu dzə, Dance competitions that are common at gatherings.

g.yang གཡང་། jon, fulu 福禄, prosperity deity

gyang khang རྒྱང་ཁང་། jon kon, rammed earth house

g.yang mda' གཡང་མདའ་། jon mda, fulujian 福禄箭, The g.yang mda' is considered the body of the g.yang. It is an arrow with pieces of yellow, green, blue, white, and red cloth tied to it.

G.yang sgrub གཡང་སྐྱུབ། jon dzu, Zhaocai yigui 招财仪轨, A ritual, held during the fourth and fifth lunar months and during wedding parties, for which villagers invite five or six monks for two or three days. Monks chant scripture, add more cloth to the g.yang mda', and pray for a bountiful harvest and for the family's wealth to increase.

G.yar ri seng ge གཡར་རི་སེང་གེ། ja r3 s^h3 ge, *mountain/mountain deity

g.yon pa གཡོན་པ། jə ku, zuobian 左边, left (side)

G.yu mtsho གཡུ་མཚོ། Yicuo 益措, *person

g.yung drung གཡུང་རྩུང་། jon dzon, wanzi 万字, Swastika.

During weddings the *g.yung drung* is made with grain and at other times, with black yak hair permanently pressed into felt.

G.yung drung spun dgu གཡུང་རྩུང་སྐྱུན་དགུ་ jonj dzonj pe ngə,
*mountain/ mountain deity

gzhi bdag གཞི་བདག་ ཇེ duw, *tudishen* 土地神, mountain deity
gzi གཞི། *Gzi* are rare precious agate beads considered to be animate.

H

Ha me ཏ་མེ། Heming 和明, *location

Han 汉 *rgya mi* རྒྱ་མི། *ja*, ethnic Chinese

Hedong 河东, *location

Heilongjiang 黑龙江, *location

Heping 和平 'Ba' gshen འབྲེན་གཤེན། *location

Hexi 河西, *location

J

ja ŋa buw muw, An endogamous wedding between two Bang smad families. It may be very simple, taking one or two days. A few families hold no formal wedding but instead ask a *bla ma* to choose a date for the bride to go to the groom's home. She may carry a bucket of water to the groom's home and then permanently live there.

K

Kag cag ཀག་ཅག་ ſaw dzaw, Guajia 挂甲, *location

Kha ba lung ring ཁ་བ་ལུང་རིང་། *k^ha wa lonj ri*, Kawa Luori 卡瓦洛日, *holy mountain

Kha lung ཁ་ལུང་། *k^ha lonj*, Kalu 卡鲁, *location

k^ha ti, *Rtsam pa*, butter, sugar, and cheese are mixed in a bowl. Tea is poured into the bowl after compacting these ingredients with the back of the hand. The tea is drunk

and the tongue used to lick up the dough at the bottom of the bowl. Tea is poured again and the process repeated until the bowl is empty.

Khams རམས། Kangba, 康巴, a major Tibetan dialect

khang ba རང་བཟ། *yon, zhuzhai* 住宅, house

k^{h3} r3, *location

k^{h3} ja bonj rə, *location

Khrag 'thang he ru ka dpal rtsal རྒྱག་འཐང་ཉེ་རུ་ཀ་དཔལ་རྩལ།
*person

Khrag rgyu རྒྱག་རྒྱ། *və va*, blood sausage

khrus རྒྱས། *tʂ^{h3}*, *guanding* 灌顶, A monk or *bla ma* chants and sprinkles water to purify polluted people and such things as clothes and food.

Khwa srung ཁ་སྤྱང་། A family who shoots at crows to prevent them from flying above Mgon po nam rgyal's palace.

Khyi mgo lag bkru (Khyi mgo lag gtsang) ཁྱི་མགོ་ལག་བརྒྱ། (ཁྱི་མགོ་ལག་གཙང་།) 'Washing the dog's head' is a ritual to purify those who have touched a human corpse or a dead dog or horse. Such people may not make such offerings as *bsang* until Khyi mgo lag bkru is performed by a monk.

ki vɛ, skal ba ཀཱེ་བེ་སཀལ་བ། *jiazhuang* 嫁妆, dowry

Klag pa ཀླག་པ། *la yə*, Laba 拉巴, *location

Klu 'bum dgon ལུ་པུམ་དགོང་། *lə bə g3 nbu*, Lengbosi 楞波寺,
*monastery

Klu 'bum ལུ་པུམ་ ལེ་བེ་, Lengbo 楞波, *location

klu ལུ། *lə, long* 龙 *fanyinyizuoja* 梵音译作伽, water spirits,
naga

Ku tang ཀུ་ཏང་། *kə tonj*, Geduo 格多, *location

Kun da ཀུན་ད། *fə nda*, Geda 格达, *location

L

la dzə hi, a canyon in Bang smad Village

La kha ལ་ཁ། la k^hu, Laka 拉卡, *location

la lu, *ornament

La she ལ་ཤ། la x^he, Nahei 纳黑, *location

lab rtse ལ་རེ། la tse, laze 拉则, a religious structure of earth and stones where *dar lcog* are placed. *Lab rtse* embody mountain deities.

lam khag ལ་མ་ཁ། tɕi, daolu 道路, road

lam rag ལ་ར་ག། loŋ raw, gifts given by the groom's family to guests as they depart

Lan chags ལ་ན་ཆགས་ nə tɕ^huw, yuannie 冤孽, *lan chags* is made from leftover *rtsam pa* and other food

las byed ལ་ས་བྱེད། le x^he, cunzhang 村长, village leaders chosen by the government

Lcags zam kha ལུགས་ཟམ་ཁ། Luding 泸定, *location

legs so ལེགས་སོ། le s^hɔ, A vocable repeated by orators and audience during speeches, indicating agreement.

Lha mtsho ལྷ་མཚོ། Lacuo 拉措, *person

Lha ri ma ལྷ་རི་མ། La ri ma 拉日马, *location

Lha sa ལྷ་ས། ʎa s^hu, Lasa 拉萨, *location

Lho g.yu 'brug sngon po ལྷོ་གཡུ་འབྲུག་སྟོན་པོ། south blue turquoise dragon

Li thang mdo sde thang ལི་ཐང་མདོ་སྡེ་ཐང་། *location

Li thang ལི་ཐང་། Litang 理塘, *location

lo ts^hɔ su, The practice of nelocal post-marital residence. The bride and groom's families give them money, clothes, cushions, and farming implements.

lud chang ལུད་ཆང་། li coŋ, 'fertilizer alcohol'. A celebration held after manure is transported to fields.

lung ba ལུང་བ། *ʔoŋ shangu*, 山谷, valley

lus lha ལུས་ལྷ། *li ʔa*, A 'body deity' that every person has on their head, protecting them from harm.

M

ma Ni khang མ་ཤི་རྒྱལ་འཁོར། *doŋ k^hɔ zə*, *zhuanjingtong* 转经筒, a hall with scriptures and a large *ma Ni* wheel that people turn while chanting

ma Ni rdo phung མ་ཤི་རྩ་ཕུང་། *ma nə doŋ nboŋ*, *manidui* 嘛呢堆, a pile made of thousands of stones inscribed with *ma Ni* and other sacred writings

Ma red མ་རེད། Mari 麻日, *location

Ma shis མ་ཤེས། Maxi 麻西, *location

Man chen མན་ཆེན། Manqing 蔓青, *location

mchod མཚན། *tɕ^he*, Generally refers to offerings. During a wedding an *mchod* is made by the bride when she arrives at the groom's home by aspersing liquor or milk three times with a silver ladle in the right hand, and then sipping from the bowl three times.

mchod rten མཚན་རྟེན། *fota* 佛塔, stupa

mda' dpon མདའ་དཔོན། *ndi pe*, *jiaben* 甲本, leader of several villages

Mdos མདོས། *mde*, Lingqi 灵器, A ritual held when medicine proves ineffective. It is believed evil spirits are trying to take away the spirit of the ill person and so a monk is then asked to hold Mdos.

mdza vu, a meal between lunch and dinner

mdzo མཚོ། *ʔə*, *pianniu* 犏牛, yak-cow hybrids

mdzo mo མཚོ་མོ། *zu*, *mupianniu* 母犏牛, female yak-cow hybrids

me མེ། *moŋ*, *huo* 火, fire

Mgo log rma chu མགོ་ལོག་རྩ་མུ། *river

mgo མགོ་པཅ་ *boŋ, tou* 头, head

Mgon po nam rgyal མགོན་པོ་ནམ་རྒྱལ། Gongbu Langjie 贡布朗杰, a powerful man who conquered much of Khams in the mid nineteenth century.

mi ma yin མི་མ་ཡིན། *mə ma ji*, formless spirits or hungry ghosts

mi མི *dzi, ren* 人, human

Mi mgo མི་མགོ་ལྟ་མཁོ། *nə mgo*, *location

Mi nyag མི་ཉག་མཁོ། *mə næ* Muya 木雅, Muya, Myak, Minyak. A little-described Tibeto-Burman language spoken by Bang smad residents.

Mkha' 'dod མཁའ་དོད། *k^ha ndu* Kangduo 康多, *location

mkhan po མཁན་པོ། *kanbu* 堪布, a very knowledgeable monk

Mtha' phyug མཐའ་ཕྱུག། Taxu 它须, *person

methug po མཐུག་པོ། *bə, houde* 厚的, thick

Mtsho kha dgon མཚོ་ཁ་དགོན། *ts^hə ku gə nbu*, Cuokasi 措卡寺, *monastery

Mtsho sgang མཚོ་སྒང་། Summit Lake

Mtsho skam མཚོ་སྐམ། Dry Lake

mu'u མུའུ། *moŋ, mu* 亩, 0.0667 hectares

Myi nag མྱི་ནག། A *gtor ma* that is believed to remove bad luck and sickness. *Myi nag* translates as 'black person' (*myi*= people, *nag*= black).

N

na go, *location

na pu, 'Property managers' responsible for the financial management of weddings and funerals.

Nang ga རང་ག། Longga 龙呷, *person

nang gi srung ma bzhi རང་གི་སྤྱང་མ་བཞི། four inner protectors

nga ང། *ŋa, wo* 我, I

ngag bcad རག་བཅད། *nyuw tce, jinyu* 禁语, silence maintained during fasting rituals

ngan pa རན་པ། *ga c^ho, huaide* 坏的, bad

ni or *ca sa t^choŋ t^hu*, 'An Agreement Party'. One or two months after the marriage has been agreed to, or sometimes as much as one year later, both families choose an auspicious day to hold *ni*, 'the agreement party'. The groom's uncle, brother, and brother-in-law, as well as the groom himself, bring a yak haunch, barley liquor, and fruit juice to the bride's home. The bride's family may ask two youths to visit each household and invite their relatives to the party. Most families send one or two representatives to the party, while relatives may send their entire family. Approximately thirty people attend the party.

Nor khang mtsho sgang མོར་ཁང་མཚོ་སྐང་། *location

Nor khang མོར་ཁང་། non qoŋ, Lougu 洛古, *location

nub bya dmar po ལུབ་བྱ་དམར་པོ། western red bird

Nag ru bkra shis skyabs རག་རུ་བརྒ་ཤེས་སྐུབས། luore zhaxi jia, 洛热扎西甲, *person

Nyag a dzitra rong ཉག་ཨ་ཇིཌ་རོང་། nuw a zdə roŋ, Lianga Ziru 梁阿字茹, *location

Nyag chu ཉག་ཆུ། na rɔ, Yalongjiang 雅砻江, The river that flows through Nyag rong County. Bang smad is located on the east bank of the Nyag chu.

Nyag chu kha ཉག་ཆུ་ཁ། Yajiang 雅江, *location

Nyag rong ཉག་རོང་། nuw ru, Xinlong 新龙, *location

Nyag rong g.yu chu ཉག་རོང་གཡུ་ཆུ། *river

Nyag skad ཉག་སཀད། nuw ki, Liangge 梁格, the variety of Khams Tibetan spoken in Nyag rong

Nyi ma 'od zer ཉི་མ་འོད་ཟེར། Nima ersha 尼玛尔沙, *person
 Nyi ma tshe ring ཉི་མ་ཚེ་རིང། Nima zeren 尼玛泽仁, *person
 nyung shas ལུང་ཤས། so so, *henshao* 很少, few
ji pu, *ornament

O

O rgyan ཨོ་རྒྱལ། Erji 尔吉, *person
 O rgyan chos grags ཨོ་རྒྱལ་ཆོས་གྲགས། Erji qizha 尔吉其扎,
 *person
 O rgyan dbang phyug ཨོ་རྒྱལ་དབང་ཕྱུག། Erji wengxu 尔吉翁须,
 *person
 O rgyan nor bu ཨོ་རྒྱལ་ནོར་བུ། Erji luobu 尔吉罗布, *person
 O rgyan tshe ring ཨོ་རྒྱལ་ཚེ་རིང། Erji zeren 尔吉泽仁, *person
 O ya ཨོ་ཡ། an exclamation
 oM aHhU~M' badz+ra gu ru pad+ma sid+dhi hU~M': ཨོ་
 ཨེ་ཧྱུ་བཌ་བུ་ཅ་པ་སྒྲི་སྒྲི་ཧྱུ་ Lianhuasheng dashi xinzhou 莲
 花生大士心咒, the text of Padmasambhava's mantra

P

pa ra cho lo ར་ཤལ་ཏུའུའི་ touzi 骰子, dice
 Pad ma chos sgron པད་མ་ཆོས་སྒྲོན། Baima qizhen 百玛其珍,
 *person
 Pad ma rgyal mtshan པད་མ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། Baima jiangze 百玛降泽
 *person
 Pad ma sgrol dkar པད་མ་སྒྲོལ་དཀར། Baima zhuoga 百玛卓呬,
 *person
 Pad rdor པད་རྡོར། Baiduo 百多, *person
 paw ku, *ornament
 pə tsə lu, *location
 phag ཕག་ va, zhu 猪, pig
 Phag mo tshe brtan ཕག་མོ་ཚེ་བརྟན། Pamou zedeng 帕某泽登,
 *person

p^he p^he, *ornament

p^hə və, Three-year-old children are taken when visiting during the New Year. The child's hair is braided with a white silk scarf in which coral and turquoise beads and protective amulets are tied. During this visitation, called *p^hə və*, all relatives give gifts to the three-year-old child. A child's senior *a* *γə* 'maternal uncle' gave a horse to his niece or nephew in the past, but now gives 500 to 1,000 RMB. Other relatives give fifty to 100 RMB.

phor ba ཨོ་བ། *qə*, *wan* 碗, bowl

phra tog ཐ་རྟག་ *tɕ^ha duw*, small, flat discs of butter that symbolize luck

p^hu Gu, *location

Phya rdeng ཐུ་རེང་། *ca di*, *Xiadi* 夏地, *location

Phyag phreng ཐུག་ཐེང་། *Xiangcheng* 乡城, *location

Phye mar ཐུ་མར། *x^he ma*, an auspicious offering made of *rtsam pa* and butter

phyi yi srung ma bzhi ཐུ་ཡི་སྤུང་མ་བཞི། four outer protectors

Q

qa və, *ornament

qaw luw won, *family

R

Ra gzhi ར་གཞི། *Rangxi* 壤西, *location

ra je won, *family

Ra rgyal dgon ར་རྒྱལ་དགོང་། *zu ji gə nbu Rujisi* 如几寺, *monastery

ra tuw, *ornament

Rba ru ར་རུ། *va rə*, *Wari* 瓦日, *location

Rdo rje dbang mo རོ་རྗེ་དབང་མོ། *Duoji wengmu* 多吉翁姆, *person

Rdo rje rgyal mtshan ལྷོ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། Duoji jiangze 多吉降泽,
*person

rdo rje ལྷོ་རྒྱལ། *do je, jingang* 金刚, thunderbolt

rə ndzə, *location

Rgya rabs shing རྒྱལ་རལ་ཤིང། Jianlaxi 甲拉西, *location

rgyal mdon རྒྱལ་མདོན། *nde*, Evil spirits that attack people and
take their soul.

Rin chen rdo rje རིན་ཆེན་རྣོ་རྒྱལ། Ren qing duoji 仁青多吉,
*person

Ri 'dabs རི་འདབས། Rida 日达, *location

ri bsang རི་བསང། *rə s^huw*, *Ri bsang* 'offering *bsang* on
mountains' is done annually on the fifteenth day of the
seventh lunar month.

ri ti, *location

Ri mgo རི་མགོ། Rigu 日古, *location

Ri nang རི་ནང། *zə lo*, Rulong 如龙, *location

ri sne རི་སྒེ། *ri na*, Renle 仁勒, *location

Rig gzhung dar spel tshogs pa རིག་གཞུང་དར་སྒེལ་ཚོགས་པ། Wenhua
cujinhui 文化促进会, a local organization

Rin chen mtsho རིན་ཆེན་མཚོ། Renqicuo 仁其措, *person

rkang pa རྩང་པ། *mu, jiao* 脚, foot

rlung rta རྩུང་རྟ། *loŋ ta*, 'wind horses,' flags of paper with
printed Tibetan scripture

rnga khang རྩང་ཁང། drum stand

Rnga rkang dgon རྩང་རྩང་དགོན། *rŋa koŋ gə nbu*, Angusi 安吉寺,
*monastery

rnga rkang རྩང་རྩང། *rŋa koŋ*, Agu 阿古, *location

Rnga rnga dgon རྩང་རྩང་དགོན། *rŋa rŋa gə nbu*, Anansi 安安寺,
*monastery

Rnga ru ma རྩང་རུ་མ། A ri ma 阿日玛, *person

Rnying ma pa རྟིང་མ་པ། ni ma pa, Ningmapai 宁玛派, a
Buddhist sect

Rong brag རོང་བྲག་ Danba 丹巴, *location

Rta'u རྟཱུ་ Daofu 道浮, *location

rte tce, a party on the second day of wedding

rtsam pa རྩམ་པ། dzu, zanba 糌粑, roasted barley flour

rtsam rgyu རྩམ་རྒྱ། və va, rtsam pa sausage

rtsing khang རྩིང་ཁང་། tsi koŋ, stone house

rtsis pa རྩིས་པ། tsi pa, lishujia 历数家, astrologer

rtswa རྩྭ་ ntɕ^{hi}, cao 草, grass

ṣə mdzu, Sacred water mixed with roasted barley flour used
to make small sculptures shaped like a mountain.

ཙ་ཇ་ boŋ rə, *location

S

Sa bdag 'khrug bcos (Snang brgyad) ས་བདག་འཕྱག་བཅོས། (སྣང་
བརྒྱད།) tɕ^hu tci, a three-day ritual held during the fourth
and fifth lunar months on a date chosen by local *bla ma*.

The name means 'to eliminate the *sa bdag*'s anger'.

sa bdag ས་བདག་ s^ha duw, diqi 地祈, landowner deity

Sangs rgyas སངས་རྒྱལ། Songji 松吉, *person

Sde dge 'bri chu ལྷེ་དགེ་འབྲི་ཚུ། *river

Sde dge ལྷེ་དགེ་ Dege 德格, *location

Sde rong ལྷེ་རོང་ Derong 得荣, *location

ser bsang སེར་བསང་། mə s^hoŋ, 'Hail *bsang*' offered to protect
crops. The mountain deities are beseeched to protect
crops from storms and other natural disasters.

Ser shul སེར་ཤུ། Shiqu 石渠, *location

sə mi tɕ^hoŋ qa s^hɛ, During the 'Go Scatter Barley Grain'
ritual, the male who visits the bride's home gives cash to

women in the bride's natal home. This payment is called
s3 mi tɕʰoŋ qa sʰe.

sgor sgor སྒོར་སྒོར་ *ko ko rə, yuande* 圆的, round

Sgra gcan སྒྲ་གཅན། *luohou* 罗睺, A solar or lunar eclipse
occurs because the sun or moon has been eaten by the
demon *Sgra gcan*.

Sgrol dkar སྒྲོལ་དཀར། *Zhuoga* 卓嘎, *person

Sgrol ma སྒྲོལ་མ། *Dumu* 度母, *a scripture

Sgrol ma སྒྲོལ་མ། *Zhuoma* 卓玛, *person

Sha phrug ཤ་ཕུག། *Xiazhu* 夏珠, *person

Shang long brag dkar ཤང་ལོང་བྲག་དཀར། *xoŋ loŋ dza kʰi*,
Xiong long zhaga 雄龙扎呷, *holy mountain

Shanghai 上海, *location

Shangzhan 上瞻 *Nyag stod* ཉག་སྟོད། *location

shar stag skya bo ཤར་སྟག་སྐུ་བོ། east grey tiger

Shes rig ཤེས་རིག། *Heiri* 黑日, *location

Si khron སི་ཁྲོན། *Sichuan* 四川, *location

sid+ dhi སིདྱ། *Lianhuasheng dashi xinzhou* 莲花生大士心咒,
The title of Padmasambhava's mantra.

Skar bzang rgyal mtshan སྐར་བཟང་རྒྱལ་མཚན། *Garong Jiangze* 嘎
绒降泽, *person

skar chu སྐར་ཆུ། *ka tɕə*, 'star water'

Ske ri སྐེ་རི། *Geri* 格日, *location

skor bro སྐོར་བོ། *lə, guozhuang* 锅庄, Tibetan circle dances

skrag pa སྐྱག་པ། *sʰa rə, kongbu* 恐怕, afraid

skya ka སྐུ་ག་ *sʰa ka, xique* 喜鹊, a bird's gallbladder

skye dman སྐེ་དམན། *ja sʰe, qizi* 妻子, wife

Skyes bu སྐེ་སུ། *location

Skyobs 'byin seng nag སྐྱབས་འབྱེན་སང་ནག། *xʰa ji sʰu nuw*,
Xiangdi silang 相底斯郎, *holy mountain

smad མང། *me, xia* 下, lower

Smad pa མང་པ། *mε ba, Maiba* 麦巴, *location

Sman བུས་ *le'u sman* མཁ་བུའུ་ལེའུ་མཁ། *lε yə mε*
*mountain/ mountain deity

Smyung gnas མུང་གནས། *non ne, Shoujixing* 守饥行, A fasting ritual that is held annually in the fourth Tibetan lunar month and organized by the four village leaders.

smyung phra མུང་ཕ་ *non tṣ^ha*, Some *Smyung gnas* participants drink one or two bowls of tea at night, which is called *Smyung phra*.

Snang zhi མང་ཞི། *non ji*, This ritual is held for one day in the fourth or fifth lunar month and is organized by villagers. The ritual beseeches deities to protect villagers' crops during the summer and autumn, and to protect residents and livestock from diseases and disaster.

snying སྟིང་། *su, xinzang* 心脏, heart

soṅ wu də, 'A Party at the Bride's House' the night before the bride leaves her home.

spang smad མང་མང། *boṅ mi*, 'below the grassland'

spang མང་། *boṅ, caodi* 草地, grass

sprin pa སྤྲིན་པ། *doṅ mu, yun* 云, cloud

sprul sku སྤྲུལ་སྐུ། *tṣə kə*, living Buddha

spun dgu སྤུན་དགུ། nine brothers

Spyi gto སྤྱི་གཏོ། *s^hə tu, Rangjie* 禳解, A ritual held three days after the end of *Smyung gnas* to avert sickness and disasters in the coming year, and to dispel misfortune and obstacles. Villagers pray to deities to protect them and their livestock.

s^hə pu spyi pa སྤྱི་པ། village leaders

Sring sring སྤྲིང་སྤྲིང་། *Shengsheng* 生生, *person

srung ma སྤང་མ། *s^hoŋ ma*, *hufashen* 护法神, protector deities
Stobs ldan ལྷོ་བས་ལྷན། *person
Stod pa ལྷོ་པ། *tə ba*, *Deba* 德巴, *location
stong dpon ལྷོང་དོན་པོ། *tonj pe* Qianhu renzhi 千户人制 *duoben*
 朵本, leader of a thousand households
Stong ra ལྷོང་ར། *koŋ ti*, *Dula* 杜拉, *location
Su la ལུ་ལ། *s^hə la*, *Sulang* 苏郎, *family
sə boŋ wonj, *family
se cuw t^huw, *ornament
se fi3 ju, *ornament
se rna, *ornament
si dzə, *skyel bro* སྤྱེ་བློ་བློ། sending dance

T

təaw wonj, *family
tə^ha ma, *ornament
tə^he mgo tə^hu poŋ/ tə^hu mgo tə^he poŋ, Exchanging a wife. If a
 betrothed female finds a lover and this is discovered, her
 parents, the parents of the future groom, or a
 matchmaker may insist that her younger sister marry in
 her place. This is known as *tə^he mgo tə^hu poŋ*. If the
 bride-to-be is exchanged for an elder sister, this is called
tə^hu mgo tə^he poŋ.
tə^hə k^huw yaw wonj, *family
tə^hə k^huw tuw wonj, *family
təi k^hə su, Putting a *dar dkar* on the central pillar. After the
 bride and her entourage finish eating, a bride's side
 orator goes to the middle of the room, gives a speech,
 and puts a *dar dkar* on the central pillar.
təuw nbə k^ha tsu, an arranged marriage
thab ཐབ། *t^ha k^ho*, *zao* 灶, stove

thab bsang ཐབ་བསང་། *t^ha s^hoŋ*, *bsang* burnt on the stove

thang ga ཐང་ག། *ji doŋ*, *juanzhouhua* 卷轴画, *Thang ka/ ga* refers to a form of primarily Tibetan sacred representation consisting of an image panel that is painted, embroidered, or appliquéd, which is often placed in a textile frame. The image panel frequently depicts such imagery as mandalas, deities, famous scenes, or prominent local religious personalities. They are hung up high in monastic halls, village temples, and family homes as objects of veneration. A piece of silk often hangs over the image to prevent defilement by secular life, and protects the image from light and dust. In the context of village ritual, setting up images creates interior and exterior worlds mediated through the representation of the images.

Thar ba dgon ཐར་བ་དགོན། *t^ha wa g3 nbu* Tawasi 塔瓦寺,
*monastery

Tho lo ཐོ་ལོ། *Tuoluo* 托罗, *person

t^hoŋ ja poŋ, *location

Thos grol ཐོས་གྲོ། *Jinmen Mimi* 《静猛秘笈》, *scripture
t^hu, Three stones and several pieces of wood placed at the crossroads, creating effigies that are about a meter high and resemble a standing person. *t^hu* prevent disasters, sickness, and evil spirits from returning to the village.

Thub bstan dge legs ཐུབ་བསྟན་དགེ་ལེགས། *person

Ti ri ཐི་རི། *t3 r3 Diri* 地日, *location

Tsha bzhi ཐ་བཞི། *ts^ha ʒə*, Four Cousins

tsha ru ཐ་རུ། *ts^ha r3*, *gaoqiu* 羔裘, Tibetan robes worn in winter that are lined with goat's skin

Tshe dbang ཐེ་དབང། *Zeweng* 泽翁, *person

Tshe 'dzin sgrol ma ཚེ་འཛིན་སྒྲོལ་མ། Chengzi zhuoma 成孜卓玛,
*person

Tshe dbang 'gyur med ཚེ་དབང་འགྱུར་མེད། Zeweng jimai 泽翁吉
麦, *person

Tshe dbang dpal 'byor ཚེ་དབང་དཔལ་འབྱོར། Zeweng bajiao 泽翁
巴交, *person

Tshe dbang rgyal mtshan ཚེ་དབང་རྒྱལ་མཚན། Zeweng jiangze 泽
翁降泽, *person

Tshe dbang rdo rje ཚེ་དབང་རྡོ་རྗེ། Zeweng duoji 泽翁多吉,
*person

ts^he r3 nboŋ woŋ, *family

Tshe ring ཚེ་རིང་། Zeren 泽仁, *person

Tshe ring bkra shis ཚེ་རིང་བཀྲ་ཤིས། Zeren zhaxi 泽仁扎西,
*person

Tshe ring mtsho mo ཚེ་རིང་མཚོ་མོ། Zeren cuomu 泽仁措姆,
*person

Tshe thar ཚེ་ཐར། Zeta 泽它, *person

ts^hɔ ʌə pɔ, This refers collectively to four villages (goŋ k3, ri
na, p3 ɬə, and, ɛoŋ ɬi) in Bang smad Township.

Tshul khrims blo gros ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་བློ་གྲོས། Cicheng luozhu 慈诚罗
珠, *person

Tshul khrims bzang po ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་བཟང་པོ། Cicheng rongbu 慈城
绒布, *person

tʂe pɔŋ woŋ, *family

W

Wa thung ཨ་ཐུང་། wa t^hu, Watu 洼土, *location

X

x^hɿ qa tɕ^ha x^hɔ, 'Go Scatter Barley Grain' is a ritual held in
the past on the day before the bride came to the groom's
home. The groom's family sent someone to scatter

barley grain when the bride left her home for the grooms' home. He accompanied the bride and her entourage to the groom's home and stayed there for three days.

ཁ་ ཇེ, A heated bed and sitting platform in kitchens and sitting rooms on which carpets are laid.

Xiazhan 下瞻 Nyag smad ཉག་སྐད། *location

Xinduqiao 新都桥 Ra rnga kha ར་རྒྱ་ཁ། *location

Y

Ya chen o rgyan bsam gtan gling ཡ་ཆེན་ཨ་བྱུན་བསམ་གཏན་གླིང།

Yaqing foxueyuan 亚青佛学院, *monastery

Ya(jiang) xin(long) Road 雅(江)新(龙)路, This road runs for 200 km from the southeast of Nyag rong County to Nyag chu kha County and parallels the Nyag chu River.

Yangs la gshis ཡངས་ལ་གཤིས། Youlaxi 尤拉西, *location

ལ་རེ, *location

Ye shes dbang mo ཡེ་ཤེས་དབང་མོ། Yixi wengmu 益西翁姆, *person

Ye shes sgrol ma ཡེ་ཤེས་སྐྱོལ་མ། Yixi Zhuoma 益西卓玛, *person

ལྟཊུ་ཡོན་ Sbrang bo སྤང་བོ། Zhuwo 朱倭, an old name for Bang smad Township

ལྟཊུ་ཡོན་ཀི, Sbrang skad སྤང་སྐད། Other villagers refer to Mi nyag spoken in Bang smad Townshp as ལྟཊུ་ཡོན་ཀི

ལི་དྲཱགས་ ར་དུའ, egui 饿鬼, fanyinyilibiduo 梵音译 毕哩多, hungry ghosts

Yi lung ཡི་ལུང། Yilu 益鲁, *location

yuan 元, the monetary unit of China

yul lha ལུལ་ལྷ། ར་ལྷ, jiaxiangdiqi 家乡地祈, territorial deity

Z

zas mar ཟས་མར། *ze ma*, a piece of butter encased in *rtsam pa*

zhen 镇, *grong rdal* རྫོང་རྒྱལ།, town

Zi ling ཟི་ལིང་། *Xining* 西宁, *location

zor ba ཟོར་བ། *liandao* 镰刀, sickle

zɔ, shrine for a family's *g.yang* that outsiders may not enter

ʒɜ goŋ, *ornament

APPENDIX ONE: mə nə Wordlist

English	mə nə
all	ʔoŋ də
and	tɕ ^{hi}
animal	gu
ashes	xɬi
at	tɕ ^{ha}
back	k ^h aw t ^h a
bad	tɕ ^h ɔ
bark (of trees)	ja
because	tɕ ^h ə k ^h e
belly	ve
big	tɕ ^{hi}
bird	ʒa
to bite	dzɹa li
black	na na
blood	s ^{hi}
to blow (as wind)	la
bone	rə ra
breast	ne
to breathe	ɛə li
to burn	bə ʒaw
child (a youth)	ga di/ŋa lə
cloud	doŋ mu
cold (as in weather)	ku
to come	gə ti
to count	tsə

to cut	kə
day (daytime)	na li
to die	s ^h a
to dig	nu
dirty	ʎɔ
dog	k ^h ɔ
to drink	t ^h ə
dry (adjective)	zɔŋ zɔŋ
dull (as a knife)	mi k ^h ə
dust	t ^h i tsu/ ʎi
ear	nə ʃo
earth (as in soil)	ts ^h ə
to eat	dzə
egg	gu ŋu
eye	mɛ
to fall (as in drop)	tə tu
far	t ^h aw ʃi
fat (noun)	ɕoŋ
father	vi, a ba
to fear	s ^h a rə
feather	pə
few	sɔ sɔ
to fight	ma və
finger nail	dzə
fire	moŋ
fish	na
five	ŋe

to float	do di
to flow	nə və
flower	mi t ^h uw
to fly	ʃoŋ loŋ
fog	loŋ pa
foot	mu
forest	nuw
four	ʔa
to freeze	voŋ
fruit	çi tu
full	goŋ
to give	k ^h ɔ
good	tɕe
grass	ntɕ ^h i
green	ŋɔ ŋɔ
guts	loŋ tɕu
hair	kə pə
hand	θa
he	tɕ ^h ɔ de
head	kə poŋ
to hear	mə
heart	zu
heavy	lɔ
here	ə me
to hit	tɕ ^h ɔ
to hold (in one's hand)	ʔa
horn	ʔɔ

how	ha
to hunt	ŋu x ^h ɔ
husband	dzi
I	ŋa
ice	voŋ
if	jaw ni
in	noŋ
to kill	s ^h i
knee	ŋə boŋ
to know (a fact)	ha gu
lake	ts ^h u
to laugh	qa
leaf	ba la
left (side)	jə ku
leg	la
to lie (as on one's side)	tɔ nə
to live	dzu
liver	s ^h ə
long	ʃi
louse	x ^h e
man (adult male)	p ^h ɔ s ^h i
man (human being)	dzi
many	ga zɿ
meat (as in flesh)	t ^h oŋ
moon	rdza ki
mother	mi/a ma
mountain	zə ŋu

mouth	θu
name	mə
narrow	du
near	t ^h aw ni
neck	ke t ^h o
new	s ^h ε
night	s ^h u
nose	nəŋ
not	nɔ
old	ni pu
one	a duw
other	ma ji
to play	qe
to pull	jə jɔ
to push	ze
to rain	mo ɭa
red	ny ny
right (correct)	t ^h i
right (side)	tɕ ^h ə ku
river	na ro
road	tɕi
root	ʒi tu
rope	na nɔ
rotten (as a log)	boŋ və
round	ɛɔ rɔ rə
to rub	s ^h i
salt	ts ^h u

sand	pu
to say	x ^{hi}
to scratch (an itch)	va χε
sea (as in ocean)	ts ^h u
to see	du
seed	θo
to sew	dza rə
sharp (as a knife)	k ^h ə
short	zi
to sing	leŋ
to sit	zdu
skin (of a person)	ja
sky	mə gu
to sleep	dzɔ və
small	di
to smell (sense odor)	nə noŋ
smoke	k ^h ə
smooth	ʝɔ mə
snake	tʂ ^h i
snow	k ^h a vu
some	a xu
to spit	ʝɔ ʔe
to split	tɕ ^h oŋ ʔa
to squeeze	cə tʂuw
to stab (or stick)	zu
to stand	ri
star	dza

stick (of wood)	pə ra
stone	zaw
straight	dz ^h oŋ
to suck	ʃə ʃə
sun	nə tse
to swell	zɔ
to swim	tɕ ^h ə dzi
tail	rŋa ma
that	tɕ ^h ə də
there	tɕ ^h ə me
they	tɕ ^h ə ra ka
thick	bə
thin	ʃə
to think	ts ^h ə
this	ə də
three	soŋ
to throw	qɛ
to tie	tɕ ^h i la
tongue	li
tooth	x ^h ə
tree	la
to turn (change direction)	nk ^h ə rə
two	ne
to vomit	p ^h e
to walk	x ^h ə
warm (as in weather)	tsi
to wash	ɛi

water	zɔ
we	ŋa noŋ
wet	ɬə ɬə
what	xa
when	s ^h ə du
where	le
white	tɕ ^h o tɕ ^h o
who	s ^h ə
wide	loŋ
wife	ja s ^h e
wind (as in breeze)	la
wing	x ^h ə pu
to wipe	ɣdzə ɣdzə
with (accompanying)	tɕ ^h ə p ^h a
woman	mi dzi
worm	bə dzu
year	kɛ
yellow	nɔ nɔ
you (plural)	ni noŋ
you (singular)	ni

APPENDIX TWO: WEDDING SPEECH

This wedding speech was written by Rdo rje gyäl mtshan, who obtained a copy of the original from a villager, made additions, and rewrote some sections.

༡༡། འོ་ལེགས་ལོ། འོ་ལེགས་ལོ། འོ་ལེགས་ལོ། ལེགས་ལོ་ལན་གསུམ་ཟེར་རྒྱུ་འདི།
 འཇིག་བརྟེན་གསུམ་གྱི་འཕྲོད་པ་དེ། ལེགས་ལོ་དང་པོ་དེ་ཉིད་ལྷ་ཁམ་བརྟེན་གསུམ་
 ཚོགས་སུ་བཅུ། ལྷ་ལྷ་མཁའ་ཚོས་ལྷ་དང་སྒྲུབ་པ་བྱས་ལེགས་ལོ། ལེགས་ལོ་གཉིས་པ་དེ་ལྷ་ག་
 གདན་སྐྱོད་པའི་ལྷ་དང་གདན་པོ་ཚོས་ཁྱེད་ལ་དེ་ལེགས་ལོ། ལེགས་ལོ་གསུམ་པ་དེ་
 མ་ལྷ་རྒྱ་ཀུན་ལ་བྱས་པ་བྱས། ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་རྒྱ་ལྷ་མོ་དེ་ལེགས་ལོ། **དེ་དོན་ལྷ་གཉིས་**
ལྷ་མོ་ཉི་མ། ལུས་སྐྱུ་མ་ཚོགས་པ་འདི་དུས་ཚོད། བདེ་སྤྱོད་དག་བཅུ་དྲུག་བཟང་འདི་ལ།
 གནམ་ལའོ་ལོ་མེ་མ་བརྒྱུད་དུས་སྐྱུ། ཉི་ཟླ་གཟང་མར་གྱི་
 འཕྲོད་ལྷོ་ར་བཟང་བ། ས་ལྷོ་འདབ་བརྒྱུད་གྱི་ས་ཉི་མ་ལ། མི་ཤིང་ལོ་རྒྱུ་གི་ལྷུས་
 རྩ་རྩུབ་ལ། བར་བཟྱ་གཉིས་རྒྱུ་བརྒྱུད་གྱི་ར་བ་ལ། མི་ལ་བདེ་སྤྱོད་དང་ལ་ཉི་མ་བཟང་
 འདི་རྒྱ་བས་འདི་ལ། མི་འཛོམས་པ་འདི་ལྷོ་རྒྱ་ལྷ་འཛོམས་ལ། ལྷོ་རྒྱ་ལྷ་
 གདན་སྐྱོད། དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་བཅུ་དྲུག་ལའོ་ལ། ལྷ་མོ་ལ་བཅུ་དྲུག་ལའོ་ལ་འདི་
 བཟྱ་གཉིས་དུས་བཟང་འདི་ལ། གཏམ་ལའཛོམས་ཀྱི་ཤི་རྩིགས། གཏམ་ལའཛོམས་
 གི་གཏུང་བཤད། གཏམ་མཛོམས་སྐྱུ་མ་རྒྱུད་དེ་ཁ་ཟེས་དེ་བཤད་ན། གཏམ་
 གྱི་ལན་ལག་ནམ་མཁའ་ལྷ་རྒྱུ་ལའོ་ལ། ཚོགས་ཀྱི་རྩམས་པ་བཞུགས་རྒྱ་
 རྒྱ་རྒྱ་རྒྱ་མཐའ་། རྩི་གྱི་རྩི་པོ་ཉི་ཟླ་རྒྱ་པོ་དང་གསལ་པ་ལྷ་དྲུག་ལྷོ་རྒྱ་
 ག་དགོན་པོ་རྩམས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱ་ག་མཛོམས་དང་། ལོ་རྒྱུ་རྩམས་ཀྱིས་རྩེ་འཕེལ་ལྷ་
 ཟེ་ཟེ། **དེ་དོན་ལྷ་འདོད་ལྷ་མ་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་** ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་རྒྱ་ལྷ་དྲུག་ལྷོ་རྒྱ་ རྩི་གྱི་
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༡༡། མེ་མོ་གི་གཏམ་རེ་བཤད་ན། ལུག་ཁུ་ནང་ལི་དོ་ཆེན་ལམ་མེན་ཟིན་པ་སྤྱོད།
 བཤད་མེ་ཤིས་ཨ་ཁེད་ཐུགས་ལ་མོག། ལམ་མེ་ཤིས་གམ་བཅུ་མ་དོ་ལ་ཐུག་ཟེར་བའི་དཔེ་
 ལ་བུ་རེ་ལགས། བཤད་མེ་ཤིས་ཨ་ལུ་ཐུགས་སེམས་ལ་ཐུགས་ཟེས།
 བཤད་མེ་ཤིས་ཤི་བརྒྱན་ཐུག་ཐུགས་ཐུགས་ལ་དུ་ཡོད་ན། ལད་རེ་དགེ་གཞོན་
 མེད་པ་ལ་མ་ཐོས་བཤད་མེ་ཤིས་ལ་ལུག་ཀྱང་ཡིན་ཟེས་ཀྱང་དེ་ཡིན།
 ང་ལག་ཤིས་ཆོག་ཆོག་ལམ་མེ་ལམ་ཆོག་གཏེས་ཀྱང་གདབ་རེ་ལུ་ཀྱང་ལ།
 རྩ་བུ་ཐོན་ཐུ་ཐུ་མ་ལོང་མས་ས་ལ་བརྒྱགས། རྩ་བུ་གཡུ་ལུག་ཐོན་མོ་གཞུ་
 ལ་ལ་ཁྱིལ། ཟུང་དུ་ཀར་ལམ་ཤིས་བརྒྱགས་བརྒྱན་ཐོབ་ལི་བརྒྱགས། ས་གཡེས་
 མོ་ན། མོ་གཡེས་མོ་ན། རྩ་བུ་ཐུགས་མོ་ན། རྩ་བུ་ཀ་གཡུ་མ་མོ་ན། ས་ཀ་
 ཡུལ་རི་ཁེད་ཁྱིམ་ལ་དེ་དག་ཐོབ་སེམས་ཀྱང་ལ། མི་ལོ་བརྒྱ་གསུམ་ལ་ལུ་ལོ་བརྒྱ་དགུ།
 བད་ལོ་དེ་ལུ་ཆ་ལུ་ཁྱིམ་བཅུ། རྩེད་གི་མྱི་ལི་བ་ཆ་མེད། རིག་གི་ཐུགས་ལི་གོད་
 ལ་མེད། ལང་ལྷོད་དུ་མྱི་ཡི་གད། བད་མེད་ཐོན་ཁྱིམ། བཤད་ཐུགས་གི་གད།
 ཆར་ཁུ་དུས་ཐུ་བཅས། ལོ་ཐུགས་དུ་ལུ་ལུགས། མི་ཐོན་ཐུགས་ཐོན་ཐོན་སེམས་ཀྱང་
 བརྒྱན་ཆད། སད་ཐོན་རྩེད་སེམས་ལུག་དཔལ་ལ་ལོངས་ཀྱང་པའི་བཤད་མེ་ཤིས་མོ་
 ལམ་ཤི་ལུ་ཡིན་ལགས།

APPENDIX TWO: *BSANG* BURNING SCRIPTURE

Three different *bsang* burning scriptures for different mountain deities describe the mountain deities and ask them for help. These scriptures are usually read by monks, though sometimes laymen read them.

The first *bsang* burning scripture is for G.yung drung spun dgu and was written by Bstan gnyis gsang sngags gling pa yab yum. The village leader Bstan pa and his two sons, Dgra 'dul and A bad, asked Bstan gnyis gsang sngags gling pa yab yum to write this *bsang* burning scripture in Bstan pa's home.

The second *bsang* burning scripture is for Sman btsun le'u sman. During New Year after offering *bsang*, Bstan gnyis gsang sngags gling pa yab yum composed this *bsang yig* in the traditional village leader, Dgra 'dul's, palace.

The third *bsang* burning scripture, for Bya zas lha mo mched bdun, was written by Khrag 'thang he ru ka dpal rtsal.

(Faint handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side)

ਤੁਧੁ ਦੇ ਤੇ ਚੈਨ ॥ ਤੁਧੁ ਲੈ ਕੇ ਲੇਖਿ ਪਾਉ ॥ ਕਾਵਿ ਕੇ ਰਾਗ ਨੇ ਨੀ ॥ ਬਡੇ ਭੀ ਕੇ ਪਿਆਰੁ ॥ ੧ ॥
 ਕਾਵਿ ਕੇ ਰਾਗ ਨੇ ਨੀ ॥ ਗੀਤ ਕੇ ਰਾਗ ਲੇਖਿ ॥ ਰਾਗ ਨੇ ਨੀ ॥ ਰਾਗ ਨੇ ਨੀ ॥
 ਤੁਧੁ ਲੇਖਿ ਕਾਵਿ ॥ ਤੁਧੁ ਲੇਖਿ ਕਾਵਿ ॥ ਤੁਧੁ ਲੇਖਿ ਕਾਵਿ ॥ ਤੁਧੁ ਲੇਖਿ ਕਾਵਿ ॥
 ਰਾਗ ਨੇ ਨੀ ॥ ਰਾਗ ਨੇ ਨੀ ॥ ਰਾਗ ਨੇ ਨੀ ॥ ਰਾਗ ਨੇ ਨੀ ॥
 ਰਾਗ ਨੇ ਨੀ ॥ ਰਾਗ ਨੇ ਨੀ ॥ ਰਾਗ ਨੇ ਨੀ ॥ ਰਾਗ ਨੇ ਨੀ ॥
 ਰਾਗ ਨੇ ਨੀ ॥ ਰਾਗ ਨੇ ਨੀ ॥ ਰਾਗ ਨੇ ਨੀ ॥ ਰਾਗ ਨੇ ਨੀ ॥

[illegible]

(Faint handwritten text in Devanagari script)

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